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LIFE

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH

PRECEDED BY A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PAPACY
TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

BY

M. ABEL FRANÇOIS VILLEMAIN

OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

TRANSLATED BY JAMES BABER BROCKLEY

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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HISTORY

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

INTRODUCTION.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PAPACY TO THE TIME OF GREGORY VII.

At the commencement of the eleventh century, the Church of Rome had widely departed from its own primitive form, and from that of Christianity as first established. Long obscure in the midst of the splendour of the capital of the world, long kept in the background by the genius of the Eastern Churches, and afterwards exalted by the policy of the emperors, the division of the empire, and the fall of Rome itself, it had advanced towards power under every change of masters. Originally a small religious democracy, like so many other Christian societies of Greece and Asia, it had, little by little, extended the power of its chief, first over the bishops in the neighbourhood of Rome, then over almost all the bishops of Italy, of southern Gaul, Spain, and Africa, finally, over the barbarian conquerors that came to subjugate it, or whom its missionaries went forth to seek in their native forests.

A rapid review of these various periods should precede the history of him who openly made the Roman Pontificate the great sovereignty of the Middle Ages.

In the earliest advances of the pontifical power, we shall find the principle of all that Gregory VII. afterwards attempted; and, after the lapse of ages, we shall see that extraordinary man appear, at the head of that sacerdotal empire, which, having been begun before him by the enthusiasm, the fraud, the daring, or the ignorance, or the wants of peoples, maintained itself, long after him, by the same causes, strengthened by the example his genius had left.

It is true of the Roman Church, as of ancient Rome; its feeble commencements—of which, moreover, we know but little—give no idea of its greatness. Open the history of the great Christian revolution, search the records of the early centuries, the bishopric of Rome, at first, fills but small space in either. All the great men are elsewhere; in Asia, in Africa, at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Cesarea, Carthage, Constantinople. In the fourth century, the chair of Rome appears to possess less lustre than that of Milan, as shown forth in the genius of St. Ambrose and the humiliation of Theodosius. It was the Bishop of Hippona, not of Rome, who presided over the Councils of Africa. In these early times religion governed the world; but religion as a popular power, had as its organs, men whose genius led in the assemblies of the bishops, and determined the creeds of the faithful. It was the somewhat tumultuous aristocracy of enthusiasm and eloquence. Nothing could be more opposed to the despotic unity which Rome afterwards claimed.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA TO CONSTANTINE.

THE obscurity of the first pontiffs of Rome is sufficiently explained by the same cause which made their successors celebrated — the grandeur of the Roman name. The Christians were at first, as it were, lost in that immense city. On the coast of Asia, at Ephesus, at Smyrna, in some of those Greek cities whose inhabitants had both learning and leisure, the announcement of a new religion had commanded universal attention. But at Rome, that vortex in which the wealth, the religions, and the vices of all the nations of the earth met, a new creed, brought thither by a foreign and vanquished people, produced no visible effect. Even while persecuting, the authorities did not enquire into it. Haughty Rome cared not to examine the tenets of the religious sects that arose among the Jews who lived at Rome, in mean dwellings in a quarter apart, begging and fortune-telling. We read in Tertullian: 'Tiberius, in whose reign the name of Christian was first heard in the world, made a report to the Senate of the things he had been told in Judea concerning the divinity of Christ, and proposed his recognition as a God. The Senate, having no proofs of the facts, refused. Cæsar persisted in his opinion, and

threatened to punish all who should accuse the Christians.'

How many impossibilities this tale sets forth! The Senate refusing anything to Tiberius! A Roman Emperor proposing to the Senate the apotheosis of a Jew who had been executed as a criminal! History tells us, on the contrary, that the Roman tyrant exercised an apprehensive severity against all religious innovations, and any form of worship coming from the East. Seneca says, that having in his youth, while the Empire was under Tiberius, adopted the diet of the Pythagoreans, he, at his father's request, quitted the city, in order that he might not be confounded with a strange sect persecuted at that time, and whose members were known by their abstinence from certain meats.[1] Tacitus mentions the promulgation of a decree by the Senate, under Tiberius, banishing the Egyptian and Jewish religion out of Italy; and he adds that four thousand Roman freed men, who were infected with that superstition, were transported to Sardinia to put down the brigandage carried on in its unwholesome climate. The rest were forced either to go into exile or to abjure; and Tiberius caused their sacred vestments and all the appliances of their worship to be burned.

Is it not probable that, under the confused definition, 'Egyptian and Jewish religion' aiming at one and the same time at Jehovah and at Isis, some leaven of Christianity lay hidden? But did this element

[1] 'In Tiberii Cæsaris principatum juventæ tempus inciderat; alienigenarum sacra movebantur; sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur quorumdam animalium abstinentia. Patre itaque meo rogante, qui non calumniam timebat, sed philosophiam oderat, ad pristinam consuetudinem redii.'—(Senec. *Epist.* cviii.)

form a distinct society? Had the Christian portion of those who were persecuted, even then a head and a hierarchy? Had a bishop of Antioch, that city where these new reformers first took the name of Christianity, come to Rome to be bishop of the Christians? Had those men, who were accused under Nero of having set fire to Rome, and who illuminated the Imperial gardens as they hung blazing, covered with pitch, from the crosses set up around, a recognised head? Were they totally separated from the Jewish sect? History gives us no detailed facts on these subjects. But, seeing with what rapidity the Christian society was formed in Egypt and Asia Minor, we cannot doubt that at Rome, where it was sufficiently numerous to supply so many victims, it had some chiefs who governed it, or, at least, preceded it to martyrdom.

As far back as the beginning of the second century, the general belief of the Christians fixed the death of the two principal apostles at Rome under Nero; and herein we see the origin of the veneration with which the Church of Rome was regarded.

The dungeon of the Mamertine was reverenced as the place whence the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were taken to execution. These recollections served as the text of fabulous stories. Pretended letters were published from Paul to Seneca, and from Seneca to Paul, in which, in barbarous Latin, the stoic philosopher speaks of the Holy Spirit, and Paul announces that he had softened the heart of Nero. Among these frauds of ignorance and blind zeal, what was true, and what made a deep impression on mankind, was the tradition of a great iniquity, of a wide and cruel persecution,

ordered by Nero. Up to that time so many Christians had not anywhere suffered; this blood-stained supremacy in suffering laid the foundation of the glory of the Church of Rome. In every part of the world in which followers of the new faith were found, the great martyrdom of Rome was the subject of universal lamentation; and a hundred years afterwards, an African, an inhabitant of Carthage, addressed to the Pagan governor of the province these words, in which breathes the fulness of the new faith, and of all the hopes offered to the universe:—'Consult your books, you will there find that Nero first took up the sword of the Cæsars against our sect, then in its infancy in Rome: we gain glory from a proscription begun under such auspices. It is impossible to know the character of this emperor, and not perceive that a thing condemned by Nero must needs be a benefit to the human race.'[1]

But though this affliction forced itself on the attention of the Christians dispersed throughout the world, the lives of the first bishops of Rome remained almost wholly unknown. The duration of their power, the order of their succession, is tinged with some doubts. The Christians had as yet no temple, no altar in Rome; they met in some upper chamber in the house of a brother to pray together. Many of them were foreigners, Jews or Syrians; and when they tried to represent to their imaginations the magnificence of

[1] 'Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romæ orientem Cæsariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostræ gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum intelligere potest non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum.'—(Tertulliani *Apolog.*)

religious ceremonies, their recollections went back to the temple of Jerusalem. Clement, the third Bishop of Rome, in an epistle to the Christians of the city of Corinth, then agitated by some divisions, exhorted them to peace and obedience, by setting before them the example of the Mosaic worship, wherein the chief priests, the sacrificers, and the Levites, each had their place and their offices clearly marked. Thus, in the first century, after the cruelties of Nero, idolatrous Rome possessed a Christian society, whose chief was in correspondence with other similar Christian societies of Greece and Asia. The authentic letter of Clement, under the date of the year 69, begins with these words:— 'The Church of God, which is at Rome, to the Church of God which is at Corinth.' Enthusiasm was the common law of all these Christian colonies dispersed over the world. Their members had travelled from one community to another, bearing such letters as called forth the hospitality of the days of antiquity. They then exhibited to each other writings, tokens of the new faith, that were kept carefully hidden; and mutually exhorted each other to combat and to die. But in all these things there was no pre-eminence, no authority of one Church over the other. It appears even, that at the end of the first century, the Churches of Greece and of Asia were more numerous, and more fervent than those of Rome. The letter of Pliny is well known, in which he informs Trajan of the large number of Christians he found in his province of Bythinia; of the unsuspecting admissions he had received from them; and of the punishments he had nevertheless enacted against them.

Is it not surprising that the name of the Christians never reappears in the other letters of Pliny, those deposits of so many recollections? and that this man, so eager to talk of a travelling Greek orator, of a lawsuit, of a vision, of a ghost story, should say nothing of this new religion, which he found again at Rome after having decimated its professors in Bythinia? Was it, that in the capital, under the eye of princes who, from Nero to Trajan, almost all proscribed the Christians, the professors of the new religion were more and more careful to conceal their belief? Must we explain in this way the obscurity of its first pontiffs, Linus, Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus? Many of them doubtless sealed with their blood the faith they had practised; but these heroic days of the Church are, like those of history, enveloped in doubt and untruth. It is universally admitted that the letters and pastoral decisions that have been attributed to the greater number of the ancient pontiffs of Rome, are pious fictions, evidently bearing the marks of a posterior age. There does remain, from the hand of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, an authentic and sublime monument of the Christian faith at the end of the first century; but it is no collection of rules and observances, such as those that have been publicly attributed to the early bishops of Rome. It is an artless description of the ardour that led the first Christians to brave every punishment, and to set at naught every law of the Empire. The Greek, Lucian, who lived in the beginning of the second century, has left us a sketch intended to be satirical, of the care which the Christians lavished on their persecuted brethren; he speaks of aged women,

widows, and orphans, crowding round the prison doors at break of day; the most wealthy among them obtaining, for gold, leave to pass the night inside; and of the deputies of several cities of Asia bearing offerings and succour.

The same story is told in an epistle addressed by the Bishop of Antioch to the Christians of Rome, whither he was led from the farther part of Syria, to be thrown to the wild beasts in the circus. 'The charity of the Churches,' he says, 'has everywhere welcomed me in Christ Jesus. Those who came not to see me, forwarded their share of the expense; every town contributed.' We see the Pagan sophist testifies to the same fact as the Christian martyr. The fact was then common; for the Bishop Ignatius, writing to the Christians of Ephesus, says to them: 'Through your city pass those who are being led to suffer death for God.' The only fear expressed by the Bishop of Antioch is that he should escape the sentence that awaited him in Rome. In writing from Smyrna to the Christians of the capital, he exhorts them to make no attempt to save him from death. 'Even if I should ask you anything else,' says he, 'when I come, do not do it; believe rather what I write to you.' The Christian community had then some interest and some protectors in Rome. Established in the very place where the cruel edicts of the emperors went forth, it was the more spared, perhaps, because it had found support in the very instruments of the persecution.

During the glorious reigns of Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius, while the ancient Greek philosophy, having become the religion of the sovereigns of the world, filled

them with a spirit of justice and moderation, from which Christianity alone was excepted, the Christian community of Rome continued to increase under obscure but zealous chiefs. It possessed from this time great wealth, which it devoted to relieving the poor, to receiving strangers, and to sending alms, even to the East. This treasure was formed by the offerings of the principal converts; it would appear, in fact, that it was then customary to bring a gift to the Church on admission into it. At the time of Antoninus, Marcion, the celebrated heresiarch, paid 200 sesterciæ on being received into the Church of Rome, and, when he was expelled some time after, his money was returned to him.[1]

It is easy to see that this general custom of giving to the Church, on becoming one of its members, must have ensured to that of the opulent city of Rome, even in times of persecution, a rapid increase of wealth. Moreover, the same result has been seen in modern history.

The persecution of the Church was not continual, because no persecution can be so. It happened in the pagan world, as it did in Catholic France in the sixteenth century, when sanguinary laws were enacted against the dissenting sects. At first these hideous decrees were executed with horrible exactitude, and numerous victims perished on the gibbet and at the stake.

Then the rigour of the judges slackened for a while, either because they thought they had conquered, or because they despaired of conquering. Fury and false shame incited to new barbarities, and these in turn died

[1] 'Antonini fere principatu . . . sub episcopatu Eleutherii, ejectus Marcion cum ducentis sestertiis quæ Ecclesiæ adtulerat.'—(Tertull. p. 242.)

away; and a fit of humanity, the attraction exercised by new ideas, or the spectacle of a conviction proof against the terrors of death itself, made an impression on those even who decreed the punishment.

The Parliament of Paris, which was at first so eager to burn the heretics, ended by asking toleration for them; and during these alternations of cruelty and justice, the followers of the new religion had increased in numbers, and their riches had attracted men of influence to their ranks.

In spite of the more ferocious manners and the more obstinate prejudices of antiquity, in spite of the obstacles raised by that sublime novelty, the Gospel, so widely opposed to the practice of the idolatrous world, the result was similar in some respects.

After a short time, the most cruel edicts of the emperors against the primitive Church fell into disuse. Pretexts were invented for evading them; it was agreed to make no search for the Christians, but only to condemn them when brought before the authorities. A manifest admission that the decrees were considered disgraceful, and that those who were called upon to enforce them recoiled from their barbarity.

The Roman government and the magistracy, tired of punishing and torturing, often relaxed their cruelty for years together. The fact is attested by the very number of the great persecutions chronicled in the Christian annals. Each of these horrible attacks of expiring paganism came after a season of truce and rest, during which it had lost some of its power.

The Christians, on the contrary, stirred to enthusiasm by proscription, and emboldened by impunity, gained

strength alike from persecution and from repose, winning over the ardent and generous-minded, attracting even the weak and timid, and increasing day by day in spite of laws that were either cried down for their barbarity or despised for their inefficacy.

Not all the followers of the new faith were wholly devoted to the pious leisure of a contemplative life. Many of them were engaged in agriculture, some in commerce, some bore arms or pleaded at the bar, others filled appointments even in the palaces of the Cæsars. Sometimes humanity, sometimes caprice, provided them with defenders. Strange contrast! The victorious Marc-Aurelius, inflexible in carrying out the laws, persecuted the Christians those laws condemned; and an infamous courtesan, the mistress of Commodus, pitied their blood that was shed, and obtained for them some years of peace, under an emperor who was the scourge of all his other subjects!

Meantime, at the end of the second century, the Church of Rome, which already possessed a numerous hierarchy, had as yet no temple.[1] Face to face with those imposing sanctuaries, those vast basilicæ which idolatry had embellished with all the resources of the arts, the Christian's worship consisted of fervent prayer alone. They even said that the immensity of God should not be enclosed within the walls of a temple,[2] but that, wherever they happened to be, in the public places, in the fields, or on the sea-shore, they felt themselves stirred to prayer by the contemplation of the

[1] 'Cur multas aras habent, templa nulla?'—(Min. Felix, p. 91.)

[2] 'Intra unam ædiculam vim tantæ majestatis includam? Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente? in nostro imo consecrandus pectore?'—(Min. Felix, p. 313.)

works of the Creator. This was the text of all their discourses; so reasons Minutius Felix, in the eloquent dialogue which he has devoted to the defence of Christianity. He therein expresses his disdain of all exterior forms as idolatrous; he compares the doctrine of his brethren to that of the ancient sages, and does not hesitate to say either that Christians are philosophers, or that the ancient philosophers were Christians. This composition, written at Rome, and the work of a celebrated advocate, who had been converted, clearly shows the various aspects which Christianity assumed in the eyes of its early followers. For some it was a liberal and elevated philosophy, for some a subject of controversy; for others, a series of observances; and under these divers forms it had attractions for all classes. It is the latter of those characters that it appears to have especially possessed among the priests of the Church of Rome.

As early as the second century, they showed themselves the severe upholders of discipline. There is not to be found among them any of those orators, those men of learning, that shone in the churches of Africa.

The writings of Clement of Alexandria, of Justin, of Athenagoras, of Origen, of Tertullian, stirred to enthusiasm the Christian societies in the East. Rome possessed nothing similar, but its bishops perseveringly maintained the dogmas and rules of discipline they had received.

The Church of Rome, had not as yet, in the estimation of Christians, any absolute pre-eminence, but it was venerated as an Apostolic Church; and this title, which was given to many of the Christian communities, in Greece

and of Asia, established a sort of equality among them. 'Go visit,' says Tertullian, 'the Churches of the Apostles, where their sees still exist, and wherein are recited their authentic letters, pictures of themselves. Are you near to Achaia, you have Corinth; if Macedonia be not far from you, you have Philippi and Thessalonica; if you are within reach of Asia, you have Ephesus; if you are in the neighbourhood of Italy, you have Rome, which we ourselves can also consult easily.'[1]

Such was the liberty of the primitive Church, which believed that the gift of inspiration had descended on all Christian societies alike. Those sufferings which frequent persecutions laid on all Christians, tended still more to fortify their spirit of enthusiasm and liberty. No doubt they looked towards Rome, because she was the capital of the world; her church practised a wide hospitality on account of the great number of Christians whose sufferings brought them thither from all parts of the Empire, but it had no jurisdiction over the other Churches. The Pope Victor, having wished to change the time of the Feast of Easter, in order not to celebrate it at the same period as the Jews, that innovation was rejected by the Churches of Africa, and even a doctor of the Western Church, Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, characterised the attempt as one of pride and

[1] 'Percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? Habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedonia. Habes Philippos, habes Thessalonicenses. Si potes in Asiam tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est.'—(Tertull. *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum.*)

injustice. The proposition of Victor was not followed, and the Churches remained in the free exercise of their ancient customs. The See of Rome exercised beyond its limits but one kind of power, the same that was exercised by all the Churches, and which belongs to every private community, the power of declaring that it is no longer in communion, that it has broken all ties with another man or another society.

In truth, this Roman world, formed of so many nations, containing so many populous cities, peopled by so many gods, magistrates, philosophers, and orators, bearing as the ensigns of its legions, on its temples, on its prefectures, the symbols of paganism, already contained beneath this idolatrous exterior an entire new world. There was not a city, hardly a town, of Syria, of Ionia, of Egypt, the coasts of Africa, of Greece, of Italy, or of Southern Gaul, where there did not exist, beside the public Roman society, a secret Christian community, with its chief, under the name of overseer or bishop; its many priests, under the name of presbyters or elders, and its divers affiliated orders, which maintained its relations with the Christians, still busied with the cares of the world, and the duties of active life.

Whenever the violence of an emperor, the rage of a pagan mob, a public misfortune, or some imprudence aroused persecution anew, in the name of the existing laws; all those societies, scattered over the empire, were as one. But when the storm had passed over, a thousand rivalries appeared, a thousand controversies arose among the Churches, and sometimes in each of them. Those, who in evil days, had exchanged their tokens, and drawn more closely the bonds of affection,

mutually excommunicated each other; and oftentimes persecution itself left the seeds of division in men's minds. In truth, some under the threats of the prætorium, had shown themselves courageous; others had fled; others had denied their belief, burnt incense, and eaten of meats offered to idols. Thence arose quarrels in proportion, between the rigid and the weak; and while in Alexandria, that Babel of Eastern Christianity, the metaphysicians of the Greek schools probed the new religion by subtle discussions on the divine essence, in less learned Africa, and in Italy, they ran into heresy on points of discipline.

Thus the sect of Montan, whose disciple Tertullian became, declared certain crimes, such as idolatry, homicide, and adultery, unpardonable, and would not admit those guilty of them to confession. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, opened her arms to all, and founded her power on the great number of sinners who took refuge in her. Montan and his disciples, the stoics of Christianity, laid down as a principle, not to fly from danger, but to seek persecution. Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome, concealed himself during a persecution ordered by the Emperor Severus, and does not appear to have thereby suffered any discredit in his Church. He was even one of the first pontiffs who claimed the right of absolving or condemning in the name of the Church Universal. He made use of it by cutting off from its communion Tertullian, whose ardent and impetuous nature rendered him indocile to the yoke of a foreign pontiff.

'Wherefore,' says Tertullian to him, 'dost thou usurp the right of the Church? Wherefore changest thou the manifest intention of the Lord, who only con-

ferred on Saint Peter personally, the privilege expressed in these words: 'On thee will I build my Church.' [1]

Here we see, at the end of the second century, while Christianity was still palpitating under the axe, what was the argument of the Roman Pontiff, and what the reply of an illustrious Christian of Africa. Tertullian, as in irony, gives the Bishop of Rome the title of Great Pontiff and Bishop of Bishops; but he refuses to him the right to remit at his will the sins of men; 'That is,' says he to him, 'the right, the authority of the Master, and not of the servant; of God, and not of the Priest.' [2]

The rigid African doctor is not less scandalized at the use the Roman Pontiff made of this usurped power: he describes the prisons of the martyrs as the rendezvous of adulterers and gallants, who made their way in by a golden key, in order to obtain absolution from the Pontiff.

While the Church of Rome, by its lenient discipline and its compassion for frailty, was laying the foundations of its power, the fury of persecution had declined; the sufferings of the martyrs, their courage under torture, the explanations of some of their defenders, and more than all, the decline of polytheism, brought to the Christians long intervals of tolerance and security. Dion, who was the governor of that same province of Bythinia, where the younger Pliny had caused Christian slaves to be put to the torture, says, speaking of the Christians in the beginning of the third century;

[1] 'Quæro inde hoc jus Ecclesiæ usurpes? Qualis es, evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem, personaliter hoc Petro conferentem, super te, inquit, ædificabo Ecclesiam tuam.'—(De Pudicitia.)

[2] 'Domini enim, non famuli, est jus et arbitrium; Dei ipsius, non sacerdotis.' (Tertull. *De Pudicitia*, p. 744.)

'Their number has so greatly increased, that they have succeeded in obtaining liberty to worship according to their belief.' These words no doubt apply to the time of Alexander Severus, under whom Dion was consul.

We know, indeed, that this prince, reared in the purest maxims of the antique philosophy, and possessed of a humane and generous disposition, left the Christians in peace. In his palace at Rome, he had a kind of sanctuary devoted to the reception of the statues of great men. There, in the early hours of the morning, the young Emperor, (when he had abstained from visiting his wife,) came to render a sort of worship to these revered images, amongst whom, and side by side with Orpheus and Appollonius, were placed Abraham and Jesus Christ. This was a kind of philosophical polytheism, the result of the studies of fanciful enthusiasts during three centuries.

The habits, the customs, the maxims, and the language of the Christians began to spread among those who considered themselves still attached to the old religion of the world. This innovation had extended to paganism, as elsewhere. Alexander often repeated this Christian sentence: 'Do to others as ye would they should do unto you,'[1] and by his orders it was inscribed in his palace and on many public buildings.

Burdened with the despotic powers, of which the emperors were the recipients, and seeking to modify them by submitting to public controul the nomination of the governors and lieutenants of provinces in cities, he cites,

[1] 'Clamabat sæpiùs quod a quibusdam, sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat. *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris;* quam sententiam usque adeò dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberat. (*Hist. Aug. Script.*)

as an example, the manner in which the Christians elected their priests. There is no doubt, that under this emperor the Christian community had churches at Rome. The Christians even pleaded publicly for the possession of a place, a dependency of the public lands, and which was claimed against them by some wine-shop keepers. The emperor decided the cause in favour of the Christians, and his rescript bore: 'It is better that this spot be devoted to the honour of God under any form.' There, we are told, was built by Calixtus, Bishop of Rome, the first Christian church that could be compared with the heathen temples for the pomp of its decorations. A vast cemetery, near Rome, beside the Appian Way, also bears the name of Calixtus, and is often named in the records of the martyrs whose remains were laid there.

The gentle reign of Alexander was followed by the accession of a cruel tyrant, who was more merciless to the Christians than to his other subjects. Two bishops of Rome, successors of Calixtus, are numbered among the martyrs who perished under Maximin; the numbers of the Christians continually augmented nevertheless in all parts of the empire. The internal liberty which was enjoyed by so many mysterious and scattered Churches, favoured their rapid increase. The heresies that arose, almost all of them in the East, found their way to the cities of Spain, Italy, and Gaul. Alexandria continued to be a great arsenal, furnishing a thousand mystic beliefs, a thousand varieties of Christianity. There was brought up, in the midst of persecution and controversy, the most eloquent apostle of the third century, Origen, whose genius, at the same time Oriental

and Greek, united the platonic philosophy to the enthusiasm of the prophets. In his writings the new religion was set forth as a profound science and a popular truth. With that force of allegory natural to the Oriental character, he interpreted the scriptures to the philosophers of the Greek schools, and devoted the deepest erudition and the most subtle eloquence to the triumph of that faith that was first preached with so much simplicity.

After the two Philips, who allowed the Churches to breathe freely, came Decius, who rekindled the persecution. The first efforts of those princes, who had anything great in them, was to restore the ancient Roman discipline; the innovation of Christianity was hateful to them as one of the causes of the decay of the empire, and in consequence of this strange error they were as cruel to the Christians as were the wickedest princes. Decius, during the first years of his reign, put to death Fabian, then Bishop of Rome; and in this circumstance we perceive the earliest indications of the internal constitution of the Roman Church. Whether it were that the Christian society could not act or dared not act, no successor was named to Fabian for more than a year; but the priests and deacons of the Church of Rome wrote to the other Churches to animate and sustain them.

The Church of Carthage was then governed by Cyprian, who, originally a celebrated orator, devoted to the cares and pleasures of the world, had, like most of the ardent spirits of the time, embraced the Christian faith. At the outbreak of the persecution ordered by Decius, Cyprian left Carthage, and sought concealment. Then the priests of Rome, who had no bishop, wrote of those of Carthage, who seemed to be forsaken by theirs:

'They did not,' they said, 'blame the holy Pope Cyprian, but they exhorted the Church of Carthage to fight courageously against idolatry, and according to their own example, as having before their eyes the fear of the Lord rather than the fear of the threats and injustice of man. We have,' they wrote, 'brought back many of those who had already gone up to the capitol to sacrifice. Our Church remains strong in the faith, though many have yielded either for the sake of their dignities, or because they were filled with the fear of men. We have separated those from us, but we have not abandoned them, exhorting them, on the contrary, to do penance, if so be they may obtain pardon of Him who can grant it. Ye see, then, brethren, that ye should do likewise.'

We can trace in this letter, the spirit of Christian policy that was already familar to the priests of the Church of Rome, and we can evolve thence the germ of their power.

The purity of the earliest enthusiasm was already greatly altered; the intervals of rest and toleration that had been granted to the Christians, had favoured the progress of vice as much as the progress of the faith. We may believe the testimony of contemporaries and martyrs on this subject. Cyprian regards the persecutions of Decius as sent by God to chastise the worldliness of the Christians. In the lively picture he gives us of their manners, he not only complains that the laity devoted themselves wholly to amassing riches; that the men shaved their beards;[1] that the women

[1] 'Corrupta barba in viris, in fœminis forma fucata . . . jungere cum infidelibus vinculum matrimonii.'—(*Liber de lapsis.*)

painted their faces and dyed their hair, and united themselves to infidels; he addresses graver reproaches to even the heads of the Churches. 'Many bishops,' he says, 'despising the divine commandment, burden themselves with worldly affairs, and leave their sees and forsake their flocks, to seek in distant provinces opportunities of engaging in profitable commercial speculations; while their brethren are dying of hunger in the Church, they seek to gorge themselves with gain, they acquire lands by fraudulent tricks, and increase their revenues by usury on usury.' [1]

The persecution of Decius, directed against a society whose chiefs were thus corrupt, found many weak and timid. At Rome, and throughout the empire, a great number of Christians sacrificed to idols; others, thinking to preserve at the same time their faith and their lives, purchased false certificates of idolatry, just as in modern times people have been known to procure false certificates of confession. Others either fled or perished in torments, or were cast into dungeons or made slaves in the mines rather than deny their faith. The persecution, which spread from Rome to all the other parts of the empire, ended only with the death of Decius, in the year 252. He left men's minds divided by a debate regarding those who had suffered and those who had yielded.

This was the origin of the first glaring schism that had hitherto agitated the Roman Church. Cornelius, a

[1] 'Episcopi plurimi, divina procuratione contempta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis, quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in Ecclesia fratribus, habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augere.'—(*Liber de Lapsis.*)

Roman priest, having been chosen to be Bishop of Rome, Novatian, who had been a candidate for the election, accused him of having procured a certificate of idolatry from the prefect of Rome, and of having corresponded with bishops who had offered incense to false gods.

At the same time Cyprian, accused of having fled before the persecution, found an opponent ready to dispute the see of Carthage with him. The two bishops had a common interest. Cyprian supported the election of Cornelius, and Cornelius anathematized the adversary of Cyprian. Thus the Church of Rome, scarcely breathing from persecution, already exercised authority. But this power, which was not acknowledged by the learned Churches of Egypt and Asiatic Greece, was warmly disputed even by the Latins.

In the West, as in the East, there existed as yet only a great federation of secret societies, at some times oppressed, at others enjoying more liberty, governed by chiefs, who occasionally met to regulate points of belief or discipline, but who owned no superior but God. Hence the resistance that the see of Rome experienced on its first attempts to bring the foreign bishops under subjection.

The Bishop of Carthage, who was the metropolitan of three great provinces, Africa, Mauritania, and Numidia, would not give way to the Bishop of Rome. The belief of the two Churches differed as to the validity of baptism given by heretics. The doctors of Africa averred a second baptism was required; the Church of Rome, in accordance with Scripture, admitted but one; and Stephen, one of the successors of Cornelius,

promulgated this decision. Cyprian then convoked a council at Carthage, at which sixty-seven bishops from the three provinces were present. 'Not one amongst us,' says he, 'assumes to be the bishop of bishops, nor seeks to force others to obedience by tyrannical menaces.'[1] This council decided against the opinion of the Bishop of Rome, that a second baptism was necessary. Stephen upheld his decree, calling Cyprian a false prophet, and a worker of lies.

But during these disputes, a new emperor, Valerian, had re-commenced the persecution of the Christians. Stephen perished at Rome, and, a few years afterwards, Cyprian, whom the people had often demanded as the prey to the lions in the circus, was beheaded at Carthage.

The intestine disputes among the followers of the new creed were silenced by these courageous sacrifices; and the belief of the people was strengthened by seeing that those who did not agree in their teaching were so well agreed to die. The Church of Rome, which already laid claim to such power, and whose letters, according to Cyprian himself, were found in all parts of the world, suffered new persecution under Aurelian, who so greatly increased the glory of the empire. There was then a revival of pagan superstition that was fatal to the Christians. An irruption of barbarians into Italy had excited general alarm; the long neglected sybilline books were again consulted; the ancient ceremonies, processions, and sacrifices of all kinds were revived. From the midst of his camp Aurelian thus

[1] 'Neque quisquam nostrûm episcoporum se esse episcoporum constituit tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit.'—(*Concil. Carth.*)

wrote to the senate: 'I wonder, conscript fathers, that ye should have delayed the opening of the sybilline books, as if ye had been deliberating in a Christian Church, and not the temple of all the gods. Haste ye, and by the chastity of the pontiffs and the holy ceremonies succour the emperor, weighed down by the public danger.'[1] The persecution of Aurelian passed over, and the Christian Church, fortified by the blood of its martyrs, continued to increase. It is an incontestable fact, that in the first years of Diocletian the Christians enjoyed almost full liberty. The prohibitory laws, the edicts which ordered the offering of incense to the gods still existed, but favour insured exemption from them. Christianity had penetrated into the palace of the emperors.

Many of his high officers were followers of the new religion, or, at least, permitted their wives, children, and slaves, to practise it openly. Many new churches were built, and were crowded with worshippers. In the provinces, the governors honoured the bishops; and as Eusebius tells us, 'the Christians were even summoned to the government of provinces without being obliged to sacrifice.'

We behold in this toleration the effect of time, and the policy of a prince who, being forced into distant wars with barbarous tribes, and fully occupied with the cares of a great empire, desired not to make enemies of any portion of his subjects.

The laws of the empire had been foiled by the perse-

[1] 'Miror vos., p. c., tamdiu de aperiendis sibyllinis dubitâsse libris, perinde quasi in Christianorum Ecclesia, non in templo deorum omnium, tractaretis.' —(*Hist. Aug.* v. i.)

verance of the new faith. According to the ancient pontifical register, so sterile in facts, Caius, who filled the see of Rome under Diocletian, was a fellow-countryman and relation of the emperor. The empress Prisca was a Christian. Thus the new religion, though disavowed by the laws and the public worship, insensibly became the mistress of society at large. In that world where despotism holding under one yoke a score of different nations, had trampled all things to dust, Christianity was the only vital force.

The only other existing power was the army. Diocletian had said, that all that was necessary was to preserve from the new religion the legions and the soldiers of the Guard.[1] But he was deceived in his calculation; however heavy be the military yoke, the army can never long escape the opinions that dominate society in general; and this explains the massacre of the Theban legion, and other facts of that epoch.

Another cause of the new persecutions and of the approaching triumphs of Christianity, was the division of the empire. Diocletian, whose mind was rather lofty than ambitious, formed the idea of creating sovereigns under his authority, instead of governing alone like Trajan, from the banks of the Rhine to the Euphrates. An old soldier, long used to the toil and hardships of war, he was tempted by oriental pomp and indolence. This was the first move in the great revolution that was soon to be accomplished. The chief of the empire, Diocletian, withdrew eastward; Rome was no longer a capital. On quitting it, Dio-

[1] 'Satis esse se palatinos tantum ac milites ab ea religione prohiberat.' —(Lact. *De Mort. Persecut.*)

cletian would not leave it to another, and he sent his colleague, Maximian, to reign at Milan, while Constantius fixed himself at Treves, thence to rule over Gaul, Spain, and Britain, while Galerius, the sovereign of Illyria and Thrace, took Sirmium for his capital.

In this division of the empire, the inevitable rivalry of the new princes was the protection of the Christians. It was not only the circumstance that Galerius was a man of obscure birth and ferocious and cruel disposition, and Constantius a man of polished education and gentler temperament, that caused the difference of treatment experienced by the Christians at their hands; it arose from political instinct. Christianity had reached to that point, that power and dominion were henceforth certain to be theirs who should espouse its cause and free it from its trammels.

For twenty years Diocletian held off from the solution of this problem, and perhaps often lost sight of it in the midst of his triumphs and conquests. Powerful enough not to be obliged to take any decisive line of conduct,[1] he tolerated the Christians. Galerius and Maximian desired their extirpation. Constantius protected them. This secret division of opinion maintained the balance between these princes whose admirable union has been the theme of orators. And when the failing powers of Diocletian, grown old before his time, yielded to the terrors constantly represented to him by Galerius, and he granted to him the blood of the Christians, this union was ended, and after a brief and final experiment, the empire itself was Christian.

Asia was the principal theatre of this persecution;

[1] Lact. *De Mort. Persecut.*

it was there that polytheism still drew some life from mystical philosophy.

We sometimes behold the ruins of an ancient edifice whose stones are disjointed and tottering, overgrown by the ivy that fills up the cracks and keeps together the wall that it has already undermined. Such may be said, was the effect of the Greek philosophy, clinging to and incorporating itself with the old polytheism it had formerly endeavoured to shake. But this last support of which idolatry availed itself attests its weakness. Its only friends were the sophist and the executioner.

The edict of persecution was issued in Nicomedia, and was executed in Rome and throughout Italy. But Latin Christianity was not, like that of Greece, opposed by allegorical philosophy; its only adversaries were the customs and ceremonies of the public worship. The spirit of the Latin nations, ever less subtle than that of the Greeks, does not appear to have produced any reformers of polytheism. We see that when, later on, a religious restoration was attempted by Julian, it was wholly Greek in ideas and language, so that the proper name of the Greeks, the word Hellenism, was the style it assumed.[1]

In the West, Christianity being less exposed to these philosophical disquisitions, and being rarely attacked except through popular prejudices or by the edicts of the emperors, was established on a firmer basis.

Nevertheless, the persecution was so violent at Rome under Maximian, that even the bishop of the city,

[1] 'Ελληνισμὸς οὔπω πράττει κατὰ λόγοι ημῶν ἵνεκὰ τῶν μετιόντων.'—(Juliani *Epist.* xlix.)

Marcellinus, gave way, and offered incense to idols.[1] Many Christians copied his example, others suffered death with constancy, and others fled to the territories of Constantius, who only partially carried out the decrees of his colleagues; for though he threw down the walls of some of the churches, he respected the property, the persons, and even the assemblies of the Christians. The flatterers of Diocletian proclaimed, all the same, that he had extirpated Christianity; and this victory was inscribed on medals and monuments. But Diocletian was weary of the sanguinary struggle, into which he had been drawn with regret. His abdication, and that of Maximian, the sickness of Galerius, the edict that he promulgated in the East, restoring permission to the Christians to hold their assemblies, are the last signs of distress exhibited by Roman polytheism. Vainly did Maximian, leaving the privacy which he had sought, after the example of Diocletian, resume the imperial purple and share it with his son Maxentius. During these changes of power, Christianity had made such progress, that Maxentius, at first, feigned to be willing to embrace the faith his father had persecuted. But he was forestalled.

The Cæsar who had always protected the Christians, Constantius, had just died at the head of his legions in Britain. His son, Constantine, was chosen his successor by the suffrages of the army; he passed into Gaul, treated with Maximian, who bestowed on him the title of Cæsar and the hand of his daughter Fausta.

Constantine at this period was still in the habit of

[1] *Δίδασκέ γε καὶ συνεισφέρειν τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργίας. Χριστιανῶν ὄντων ἰφαμίλλων τῷ πλήθει Ἑλλήνων.*'—(Juliani *Epist.* lii.)

bestowing gifts for the ornamentation of the temples of the gods. The pagan orators of Gaul complimented him on his piety; the deputies of the city of Autun entreated him to enter their walls and visit their magnificent Temple of Apollo. But the eyes of the Christians were fixed on him, and from the borders of the East to Rome, his arrival was awaited by an expectant people.

A jealousy of power that arose between Maximian and his son hastened the impending revolution. Maximian, expelled by Maxentius, fled for protection to Constantine, conspired against him, and was slain by his command. Master of Italy, Maxentius, at a loss how to deal with an empire that was slipping from his grasp, recommenced a persecution of the Christians. He reduced to slavery Felix, the Bishop of Rome, and set him to work in a stable. The vices of this wretch joined other horrors to his tyranny: the purity of the Christian women was an attraction for him. One of these, of a senatorial family, whom he had dishonoured, having, contrary to the Christian precept, killed herself, recalled to the remembrance of Romans the example of virtue, equally famous and fatal in their history.

Constantine, certain of the support of Italy, partly Christian and wholly oppressed, passed the Alps in spite of the advice of the aruspices still attached to his camp, and who were doubtless at this moment enlightened by the very instinct of paganism.

Behold, then, the accomplishment of the great revolution begun three centuries before!—the day that shall avenge the blood of the victims, and range the

oppressed in the ranks of the masters—the retribution that is sometimes committed to iniquitous hands, but that is accomplished by the eternal laws that govern human society.

The attention of Rome, drunk with the blood of the martyrs, of Italy with its population of Christians, of the provinces of Africa full of flourishing Churches, and all of the West, was alike aroused. Miraculous stories were in circulation in Gaul; the superstitions common to both faiths believed that celestial assistance had been visibly promised to Constantine. Maxentius, feeling his own weakness, sought likewise help from Heaven, opened the sybilline books, and consulted the magicians; but he remained inactive at Rome. History makes no mention of the deeds, the hopes, or the prayers of the Christian community at this fatal crisis, but they may easily be imagined: it was oppressed; it was about to command.

Constantine, having rushed from the summit of the Alps, rapidly carried Turin, Cremona, and Mantua, and marched upon Rome, the prize of the victor. At some leagues from the city, on the banks of the Tiber, was fought the battle that changed the fate of the world; the old legions of Gaul and Britain, though less numerous, vanquished the army of Maxentius, and he himself perished in his flight.

In an erection of these ancient days, we may discover something of the impressions, or rather of the uncertainties, of the Romans, divided between two religions, delivered from a tyrant, receiving a new master, hoping in him a liberator. Constantine, as he entered Rome with his victorious legions, preceded by the head of

Maxentius borne on a pike, passed under a triumphal arch that was decorated with this ambiguous inscription :—

'THE SENATE AND THE ROMAN PEOPLE

'To the Emperor Cæsar Augustus,[1] who, under the inspiration of the Divinity, by the greatness of his own soul and the help of the army, has at one blow avenged the republic on a tyrant and all his faction,

'HAVE ERECTED THIS TRIUMPHAL ARCH.'

As we see, Christianity is not yet named, but is about to show itself, and to reign.

[1] 'Quod instinctu divinitatis, mentis magnitudine, cum exercitu suo, tam de tyranno quam de omni ejus factione . . . arcum triumphis insignem dicavit.'—(Baron. vol. iii.)

SECOND PERIOD.

THE CHURCH OF ROME, FROM CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS.

THUS is completed the first revolution of the Roman empire. The ancient fables, the temples of the gods, the popular sacred rites, the old-world prejudices, mingled with its monuments of art and its records of learning, are all about to crumble away, and the time draws near when all that shall remain of the former state of society is its despotism; of the new, Christianity and the barbarians.

Many things, however, in this great change, changed but slowly and by degrees; and just as in the last period of the pagan persecution, Christianity was in every place, so, after the conversion of Constantine, paganism retained some partisans and some power. Rome was the principal seat of this resistance. The city of the two apostles was at the same time the city of the gods and the senate. Its antique souvenirs, its public buildings, the names of its streets, the learning of its lawyers, those traditions and that pride of the sovereign republic that had survived even the empire, were all linked with paganism.

Constantine does not appear to us under the aspect of an enthusiast or a sectary. His conversion displays

all the patience of a politician. He found events ripe for his ambition. For more than a century, the Christian religion, strengthened by many persecutions, had become the most powerful element of the empire; it alone prospered, while everything else was dropping into decay. Every new persecution left it stronger; it opposed at the same time the ancient faith and the ancient power. In vain had the imperial authority rigorously prohibited all assemblies and all private societies; half the empire was united by religious bonds: another sovereign, far more powerful—obedience far more boundless, arose in the Roman world. The Christians did not conspire, did not employ force for their defence, but their countless numbers rendered their victory certain. Sometimes, it is true, during the first fury of a new edict barbarously executed, after a few striking martyrdoms, many fled, many concealed themselves; and adroit emperors were thereby deceived, or pretended to be so. The inscription of Diocletian, wherein he congratulates himself on having everywhere extirpated the Christian superstition and spread the worship of the gods, is well known.[1] Eight years after the inscription of this lying epitaph, Christianity disposed of the throne of the West.

Constantine fully understood that in order to dethrone the Cæsars of Asia, to form an empire of which he should be the chief, it was necessary to change the religious laws of the world. The legend of the Labarum helped him to do what none had ever thought of doing before; he armed Christian soldiers in his

[1] 'Superstitione Christi ubique deleta, cultu deorum propagato.'—(Baron. anno 304).

cause, and rendered warlike and powerful the religion of suffering and humility. Differing in this from so many other chiefs who had been raised to the supreme power by the transient and changeable attachment of the prætorian guards and the legions, he was supported by the faith and interests of a large portion of the empire, and had an army, not only of his party, but of his faith; he had partisans and allies in the kingdoms of rival princes. Already emperor of Italy and Gaul, the Christians of Greece and of Asia hoped to find in him a protector.

We cannot say that in these fortunate circumstances, Constantine, born of a Christian mother, threatened in his youth by the persecutors of the Christians, and stirred by the fancies inseparable from high hopes, did not believe himself an instrument appointed by Providence to reach the summit of power. Every really ambitious man has faith in his own destiny; but Constantine manifested his with a prudence that savours not of enthusiasm.

A triumphant victor in the name of the Cross, he still follows pagan customs, admitting every servile pretext, he allows one temple to be consecrated to him by the Romans, and himself consecrates another in the city of Rome. Finally, it was not at Rome, in presence of a senate still attached to the ancient faith, but at Milan, the now imperial residence, that he promulgated his first edict in favour of Christianity, in concert with Licinius. He therein disguises the greatest revolution the world has seen under an act of toleration. He accords the faculty of freely following either Christian observances or the religion that each one shall prefer. He reiterates this

promise of allowing equality between the religions; but at the same time he prescribes to the public treasurer and to private individuals to restore without interest and without delay the proceeds of all that had been confiscated, belonging to the Christians, by former edicts. He orders to be given up to the Christian body, not only its places of assembly, but all the property belonging to it, and holds out a hope of the imperial indemnity to such as shall have complied.[1]

By these means, the Church of Rome, as well as the other Christian communities, recovered rich domains in Italy, in Greece, and even in Asia. Such was the ascendency of Constantine's genius and the power of the lever he applied, that Licinius and Maximian, the emperors of the East, were carried away by them. Persecution ceased throughout the Roman world. The execution of the new law was carried even into Nicomedia, it was the triumph of Latin Christendom. Soon Constantine exempted its priests from all public contributions, and by an edict, published at Rome, authorised all to leave to the holy and venerable Council of the Catholicity such portion of his goods as he pleased. Thus, under an emperor who was still an unbaptised neophyte, Christianity already dictated the law.

[1] 'Dare et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem quam quisque voluisset . . . qui eamdem observandæ religioni Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem . . . contendant etiam aliis religionis suæ vel observantiæ potestatem similiter apertam in liberam concessam esse . . . loca . . . a fisco nostro vel ab alio quocumque videntur esse mercati, eadem Christianis sine pecunia et sine ulla pretii petitione, postposita omni frustratione atque ambiguitate, restituantur . . . Corpori Christianarum . . . non loca tantum, ad quæ convenire consueverunt, sed alia, quæ habuisse noscuntur . . . reddi jubebis . . . supradicta ratione servata, ut ii, qui ea sine pretio restituerint, indemnitatem de nostra benevolentia sperent.

Meantime, in the East, Licinius, the ally of Constantine, and his sister's husband, had conquered and dethroned Maximian. The empire was divided between the two rivals. Licinius then repealed the edicts of toleration, and fled for help to the ancient idolatry of the world, and the images of the gods once more decorated the ensigns of the legions. Constantine set out to oppose him, amid the prayers of the Christians; he conquered him under the walls of Byzantium, and pitilessly caused him to be put to death. And thus uniting under his sway more nations than either Augustus or Trajan had ruled over, the protector of the Christians found himself the master of the world.

Rome was no longer the object of his ambition. He felt attracted to the East, as Diocletian had been, and, having changed the religion of the world, he resolved to change its capital. That city that lying at the limit of Europe, touched Asia, that Byzantium, which had been the witness of his victory, wooed him with her lovely port, and her cosmopolitan position.

He set to work in haste to build streets and palaces, and temples. The imperial precipitation, natural to conquerers, appeared in his labours; while he issued decrees for founding schools of architects in the East, he built with the marbles torn from the temples of Greece, and columns transported from Egypt.

At the same time he employed himself in endeavouring to establish unity in the religion he had rendered triumphant, and which was torn by so many opposing sects. Leaving his labours at Byzantium, he went to the Council of Nice; whither he had convoked all the bishops of the three parts of the world, and where he

took his seat in their midst. It was in this council, he tells us, that he first beheld the power of Christianity; he promulgated its decrees by his letters, and may be said in a manner to have made himself the first pontiff of the new faith.

Constantine would not adjudge the primacy to any bishop in particular. He nominated three bishops to judge Donat, who had been condemned as a heretic by the Churches of Asia, and to those three he afterwards added the Bishop of Rome. Donat, not submitting himself to their sentence, was cited to appear before a council over which he himself presided in the city of Arles.

Constantine did not preside over that of Nice; we are even told that he took his place on a lower seat than the bishops; but it was the triumph of the entire priesthood, not of the Roman Pontiff. Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, was detained there by his advanced age, and did not appear in that assembly, in which the Patriarch of Alexandria was declared his equal in rank and dignity. It may be that the jealousy which Constantine entertained against Rome, extended to the head of that Church. But the removal of the Prince did more for the Bishop of Rome, than his highest favours could have accomplished.

The eternal city, forsaken by the sovereign, became the city of the Pope. The donation of Constantine, an invention of the cunning ignorance of the middle ages, is a palpable fable doubtless; but which involves a real truth—the foundation of Byzantium gave Rome to a new master.

The year after the Council of Nice, Constantine re-

turned to Rome, but only to horrify the city by the bloody scenes enacted in his palace. It was at Rome that Constantine sentenced his son to death, and caused his wife, Fausta, to be suffocated in a bath. The Romans, in some verses which were found affixed to the gates of his palace, lamented the return of the age of Nero; but no voice came from the pulpit; there was no Saint Ambrose in Rome. A legend of the fifth century only relates that the Pope Sylvester cured Constantine, by baptismal immersion, of an inveterate leprosy, but whether we take this anecdote in its literal or figurative sense, it is equally untrue. Constantine, who, as was customary, deferred his baptism, and reserved it as a resource against his crimes, only received this Christian rite on his death-bed, and from the hands of Eusebius, the abettor of Arianism.

The fate of this prince was strange. He died out of the pale of the faith he had caused to triumph; the first Christian emperor, he stained with cruelty the throne of Marcus Aurelius. A conqueror, a legislator, and a controversialist, there was in him something great, something of the barbarian, some of the inspirations of genius, and some of the subtilty of the theologian. The pure religion he adopted did not alter his ferocious disposition, but it ameliorated his edicts. The man remained barbarous, the emperor appears at times humane. He forbade that crime tolerated by antique legislation, the exposure of infants; encouraged the manumission of slaves, and improved the condition of women. The author of the greatest revolution the world ever saw, he re-established unity in the empire, and gave it Christian laws.

From the time that Constantine founded his new capital at the limits of Europe and Asia, and assembled within its walls a court, a senate, and a population, ancient Rome, having nothing left but her souvenirs, necessarily looked back to the paganism whose monuments filled her wide circumference. The sentiment of liberty, or the regret for its loss, which was preserved by the Roman senate, was confused with the prejudices of the ancient faith; and patriotism kept some heathens at Rome, while platonic philosophy still had its followers in Greece and Asia.

But the greatness of the Church of Rome gained by that very national jealousy that appeared contrary to the interests of Christianity. The rivalry of the Roman with the Greek encouraged the claims to religious supremacy put forward by the Bishop of Rome. The pagans themselves thought it natural and just that the head of the Christians in the Eternal City should have some pre-eminence over the other Churches, and Christianity adopted this pagan tradition, as it borrowed in its ceremonies several of the customs of the antique fêtes. In Rome, abandoned by the emperors, there was from this time forth only a prefect—a magistrate who was powerless to eclipse the splendour of the head of the Church; thus the power of the Popes was founded by the same events that mutilated the empire and humbled Italy. This result was soon visible. Whenever a celebrated bishop of the East was either opposed by his compatriots or oppressed by the emperor, he hastened to Rome to obtain approbation and protection. The Council of Nice, at the direction of Constantine, who was willing that the Church should have its

assemblies, but no head but himself, had declared the Patriarch of Alexandria the equal in honours and privileges of the Bishop of Rome. But a few years afterwards the Bishop of Alexandria himself, Athanasius, secretary of the Council of Nice, being banished by Constantine, came to Rome to ask hospitality and communion at the hands of its bishop. Welcomed by this Church, it appeared as though he had fought only for her, and he did for the greatness of the See of Rome all that he had done for the faith of Nice.

After the death of Constantine and the division of the empire between his two sons, Constans and Constantius, Athanasius, persecuted anew by the Arians, and condemned in a council at Antioch, returned to seek an asylum in Italy, and brought his cause before the Church of Rome. The quarrelsome and sophistical spirit of the Orientals served the Romish Church in this.

Paul, Bishop of Constantinople; Marcel, Bishop of Ancyra; Asclepias, Bishop of Gaza; and Lucius, Bishop of Adrianople, all driven from their sees by various causes, appealed to the Roman tribunal at the same time as Athanasius.

The Bishop of Rome, Julius I., profited by this opportunity of increasing the power of his see. He convoked a council of the bishops of the West at Rome, brought the Eastern refugees before them, and wrote to their persecutors, blaming their conduct. These first encroachments by the Roman pontificate on the liberty of the other Churches are curious to follow. The Bishop of Rome always attempts them with the support of a council. It is always a theological con-

test of the West against the East. The Church of Rome, devoting itself to the defence of the refugees, and constituting itself the court of appeal of those who have complaint to make, speaks with more authority, and the language of Julius is not unworthy of the mission he undertook. 'Oh, my friends,' he writes to the Eastern bishops who had proscribed their colleagues, 'the sentences of the Church are no longer according to the Gospel: they point henceforth to banishment and to death. If, as ye say, these bishops have been blameworthy, ye should have judged them according to ecclesiastical rule, and not as ye have done. Ye should have written unto us, so that what was just may have been decreed by us all.' Thus the Bishop of Rome laid claim to the Primacy, not for himself, but for the council general of Christians.

The Synod which he held at Rome decreed the reinstatement of the Oriental bishops who had been deposed by their colleagues. The Emperor Constans, who was reigning in Italy, wrote to his brother approving this decision. We may easily imagine how ready the Emperor of the West must have been to favour the first attempts at supremacy claimed by a bishop, who was his subject, over the Eastern prelates. Thus the ambition of the civil power aided that of the Church.

Constans and his brother, after mutual embassies, agreed to convoke a general council, which should pronounce on the complaints made by Athanasius and the other deposed bishops. This solemn assembly, which met at Sarvick, in Illyria, referred the question to the Bishop of Rome. The genius of Athanasius gained

this victory for Rome. Soon afterwards Athanasius was re-called to the See of Alexandria, but the Church of Rome, proud of the power she had acquired in defending the greatest man of the Eastern Church, began to think she might exercise it against him.

Julius I., having died in 352, was succeeded by Liberius, who, on new complaints being sent from the East against Athanasius, summoned him to appear at Rome.

The Patriarch of Egypt ignored the jurisdiction he had formerly invoked: Liberius anathematised him; but the Egyptian bishops having met together pronounced him blameless. Liberius then convoked a council at Rome, but he was forced by the common opinion to retract his first sentence. Strange spirit of the age! Athanasius, the defender of the faith at Nice, was accused of divining the future by the flight of birds and the help of sorcery.[1]

The Emperor of the West, the young Constans, was assassinated by Magnentius, one of his officers, who succeeded. The Emperor of the East took up arms to avenge his brother; and, having vanquished the usurper, he once more united under his sway the empire of Constantine, Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome. But his first endeavours after his victory were directed to obtaining a new condemnation of Athanasius. He called a council at Milan, exiled some bishops who were favourable to the man he was bent on destroying, and extorted the votes of the rest. The temper,

[1] Dicebatur fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent alites, scientissime callens, aliquoties prædiscisse futura.'—(Amm. Marc. a.c. 355.)

already matured, of the Church of Rome, now again showed itself. That Liberius who had formerly excommunicated Athanasius, would not subscribe his condemnation. He determined to utilise the powerful name of the Romish Church for the defence of an eminent man; Constantius pressed him all the more to recognise the Council of Milan. The pagans, even, have noted the struggle. 'Liberius,' says one of them, 'notwithstanding the orders of the prince, refused to subscribe, exclaiming that it was abominable to condemn a man without seeing or hearing him, and openly resisting the Emperor's will; for the latter, who had always been the enemy of Athanasius, though he had obtained his end, still ardently desired to have his sentence confirmed by the authority specially possessed by the Bishop of the Eternal City. He could not obtain it, however, and Liberius was carried off from Rome in the night with great difficulty, because they were afraid of the people, who loved him greatly.'[1]

Such, then, according to the testimony of a pagan—a soldier and philosopher—was the power that was exercised by the Bishop of Rome in the middle of the fourth century against the will of the Emperor. Being brought before Constantius, and remaining inflexible in his refusal, Liberius was banished to a village of Thrace, and Constantius caused another bishop of Rome to be

[1] 'Nec visum hominem, nec auditum, damnare nefas ultimum, sæpe exclamans, aperte scilicet recalcitrans imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, licet scire impletum tamen auctoritate quoque, qua potiores æternæ urbis. Episcopi, firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti: quo non impetrato Liberius ægre populi metu, qui ejus amore flagrabat, cum magna difficultate noctis potuit absportari.'—(Amm. Marc. book xv.

elected in his own palace. The docile bishops of his court anointed him, and a few eunuchs represented the assembly of the people.

But some time after, Constantius, having come to Rome, the first women of the city magnificently clad, presented themselves before him, entreating him to restore their lawful pastor to his flock. Constantius would only consent on condition that Liberius should adopt the doctrine he had opposed, and even then he would only allow him to share the government of Rome with Felix. The firmness of Liberius had vanished in exile, for he agreed to everything demanded of him.

A new council, held at Sirmium, having put the doctrine of Arius and the proscription of Athanasius into other words, Liberius subscribed to them, and in a letter to the Emperor he declared that he did not defend Athanasius, and that he heartily accepted the new formula proposed by his adversaries.

Once more restored to the see of Rome in the midst of the enthusiasm of the people, who soon drove away the other pope, Felix, Liberius, it is said, repented of his complaisance, and rejoined the party of Athanasius.

These frequent changes do not surprise his contemporaries. Nobody then considered the Bishop of Rome infallible. Athanasius, whose mind and genius were of such a high order, speaks with contempt of the weakness of Liberius; and a Gaulish bishop, Hilary of Poictiers, while transcribing, in his history, the letter at the price of which that pontiff had obtained his liberty, leaves off at every line to exclaim: 'Anathema unto thee, Liberius! Anathema, I say, unto thee, again and again, thou prevaricating pontiff.'

The duration of the resistance of Liberius to Constantius, and the zeal of the people in his cause, may be taken as an explanation of one of the strange things of this period. Constantius, who, in his laws, strictly forbids the predictions of the aruspices and other pagan ceremonies, always bestowed the office of governor of Rome on a pagan. Soon after the triumphant return of Liberius, during a famine which excited riots in Rome, the prefect, Tertullus, went to the gates of the city and offered sacrifice in the temple of Castor and Pollux, to obtain a favourable voyage for the corn-laden ships coming from Egypt. It was the imperial policy to provide a counterpoise to the power of the bishop, who obtained authority over the minds of the rich women by his counsels, and over the poor by his alms.

But soon these remains of paganism, spared by Constantius, were to be revived for the last time by Julian. As we have already said, this religious revival was wholly Greek, and almost foreign to the Latin genius.

While Christendom was engaged in blood-stained disputes, the young prince, whose father and brother had been put to death by the cruel Constantius, and who had been brought up by force in the religion of his persecutors, devoted himself, either through enthusiasm, or perhaps through ambition, to every memory connected with the faith they proscribed.

Having received the tonsure to qualify him as reader in the Church of Nicomedia, he obtained permission to go and study in the schools of Athens, where philosophy and liberty, banished from the rest of the world by Christianity, conspired together in favour of the ancient religion. Julian was summoned thence by Constantius

himself to take the command of the Roman armies in Gaul and Germany. He did great things; defeating the barbarian chiefs and equitably governing the conquered provinces, while Constantius was either buried in Oriental voluptuousness or busy with theological controversies.

In the midst of victory, under the inclement skies of Gaul, the young Cæsar's imagination wandered to the gods and the arts of Greece. Enthusiastic and austere, he was in the habit of arising in the middle of the night to adore Mercury, who, in his allegorical polytheism, was regarded as the very intelligence of the universe. He had around him some of those Greeks and Easterns who dreaded being accused of magic, under Constantius, and who thought themselves prophets when they promised the throne to Julian. With an imagination excited by these hopes, the young Cæsar, in his dreams and in his vigils, thought he beheld the genius of the empire speaking to him thus: 'Julian, I have waited long at thy gates, desiring thy greatness. Spurned by thee more than once, I have gone away, and if thou dost not now receive me, when all the world would have it so, I shall retire weary and sad. Remember, moreover, that I shall not long abide with thee.'

The dissatisfaction of two of the legions on being recalled by the jealousy of Constantius from his young colleague, ripened all his vague projects of ambition. Julian revolted, as Cæsar had done, rather than give up the soldiers at whose head he had conquered. But so great was the power of Christianity throughout the West, that Julian feared, at first, to abjure publicly.

At Vienne, on the Isère, in order to win over the people, he affected to be attached to the Christian form of worship; and, as a pagan tells us, 'he went, on the day they call Epiphany, into their church, and remained there praying to their God.'[1]

Whether it was out of respect to a widely-spread belief, whether it was out of uncertainty as to his own plans, it was not till after he had entered Constantinople, and was master of the East,[2] that Julian laid bare the secret of his soul, and issued his decrees, ordering the temples to be opened and sacrifices to be offered.

The Church of Rome was not affected by this transient and useless attempt. While Julian, surrounded by Greek sophists and hierophants, celebrated fêtes,[3] offered victims, and composed hymns to the mother of the gods, the Christian Churches of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul and Germany remained free and unmolested. The decree itself by which Julian interdicted the disciples of Christ from the teaching of letters and eloquence, affected scarcely any except the learned schools of the Christians in Greece.[4] The writings on which Julian relied for the support of his religious revival were not known in the West; he never even came to Rome, and appointed as its governor a pagan, who was a sceptic and a man of moderation. The East attracted him, and having left Antioch for the Persian

[1] 'Adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat . . . et feriarum die quem Christiani Epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum Ecclesiam, solemniter Numine orato, dicessit.'—(Amm. book xxi.)

[2] Ibid. book xxii.

[3] 'Innumeras sine parcimoniâ pecudes mactans.'—(Amm. book xxv.)

[4] 'Docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos grammaticos Christianos.'—(Ibid.)

war, Rome received the intelligence of his death before experiencing any of the effects of his paganism. His successor, Jovian, proclaimed the liberty of Christianity afresh, and Valentinian soon after brought it the support of his edicts and his arms.

This phantom of mystic paganism evoked by Julian, served then only to animate the ardour of the new faith. Julian had hastened during his brief reign to restore to the pagan temples the domains that had been confiscated by the first Christian emperors. Valentinian, by a rescript dated 364, abolished the decrees of his predecessor, of holy memory, as he says, and united the domains of those temples once more to the imperial property. The courtiers and the Christian priests were enriched with these spoils of paganism, and the Christian altars were decorated with new splendour. For a long time the memories and the monuments of persecution had been the whole pomp of the new faith at Rome. Men came thither to visit the tombs of the martyrs; the churches could boast of no magnificence. 'When I was at Rome in my boyhood, studying the liberal sciences,' says Saint Jerome, 'I used to go with my companions on Sundays to visit the tombs of the apostles and martyrs. I often went into those caverns that extended far under ground, where, when we came to think of it, our path lay between two rows of the buried dead. I crept forward slowly, in complete darkness, and recalled to my mind the line of Virgil—

Horror ubique animos simul ipsa silentia terrent.'

But after Julian, when polytheism was powerless, when all the wealth and all the favour had passed over

to Christianity, there was no longer the same simplicity in the public worship. The virtues of the primitive Church had been under the safeguards of persecution and poverty ; she grew weaker in the day of triumph. Enthusiasm was less pure, existence less self-denying; and among the ever-increasing number of proselytes were many vicious men. They became Christians out of ambition, for interest, to please the Court, to appear faithful to the emperors. The Church, enriched at the same time with the spoils of the temples and the gifts of the Christians, decked herself with a magnificence truly profane. The ecclesiastical cupidity of which the Bishop of Carthage complained in the middle of the third century, was carried much further, especially in the principal cities of the empire.

At the death of Liberius in 366, they fought in arms for the dignity of the bishopric of Rome, notwithstanding the intervention of the prefect, who was obliged to quit the city on account of these disorders.[1] Two Christian factions had been formed, one in favour of Ursino, the other of Damasus, both priests of the Roman Church. 'Damasus,' says the pontifical book, innocently, 'carried the day, because he had the greater number on his side.' The churches of Rome were stained with blood. Damasus being elected by his party, in the Basilica of Saint Lucia, besieged his opponent in the Church of Sicininus,[2] where one hundred and thirty-seven men were killed in one day.

[1] 'Nec corrigere sufficiens nec mollire, coactus in magna secessit in suburbanum.'—(Amm. Marc.)

[2] 'Constat in basilica Sicinini . . . uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptorum.'—(*Id.*)

The populace of Rome rose in revolt, and were tranquillised with difficulty. A pagan, who agrees with the ecclesiastical writers in his account of this scandal, is not much surprised at it, when he considers the dignity thus contended for. 'Those who obtain it,' says he, 'are sure to be enriched by the offerings of the Roman matrons, to be borne in chariots, to be magnificently clad, and to sit at tables whose profusion exceeds the feasts of kings. Happier would they be in point of fact if, disdaining the grandeur of Rome, which is their pretext for these excesses, they were to copy the example of those provincial bishops whose rigid sobriety, poor dress, and humble looks, bent on the earth, glorify the Divinity, and all his true worshippers.'[1] These riches of the Church excited the raillery of the idolaters. One of them, whom Valentinian, following the policy of the emperors, had nominated prefect of Rome, often said to the Pope Damasus, 'Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian directly.'[2]

The same love of show and the same abuses descended from the bishops to the simple priests. They were accused of leading captive the minds of the most

[1] Cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspectè vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent epulas. Qui esse poterant beati revera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem *antistitum* quorundam provincialium viverent, quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime . . . perpetuo Numini verisque ejus cultoribus . . . . . commendant—(Amm. Marc. book xxvii.)

[2] Miserabilis prætextatus, qui designatus consul est mortuus, homo sacrilegus et idolorum cultor, solebat ludens beato Papæ Damaso dicere, 'Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum et ero protinus Christianus.'—(S.H. *Epist. ad Pammachium adversus Errores Joan. Ierosolymitani*, p. 310. Paris edition, 1706, vol. iv.)

wealthy women in Rome, and thus obtaining their inheritance.

In defiance of the severe rules of the ancient gyneceum, more than one priest found means to introduce himself there in the morning hours, and by his flatteries and entreaties, obtained from the wives and widows of the senators, the very furniture of the palace.

Valentinian, the Emperor of the West, though zealous for the Christian faith, which he had confessed under Julian, determined to put a stop to this cupidity of the Christian priests. He promulgated and caused to be read in the churches of Rome a decree, whereby he forbade the ecclesiastics and those who had taken the name of *continents*, to visit the houses of widows and orphans. The same decree forbids them to receive aught soever from the women with whom they have relations in the name of religion, and annuls any gift or will in their favour, though made through a third party. At this period, however, the pagan priests and the vestals still enjoyed the right of inheriting. The same Jerome, who in his boyhood wandered in such pious horror through the catacombs of Rome, celebrates the justice of this decree—'I am ashamed to say it,' he exclaims, 'but idolatrous priests, players, charioteers of the circus, and prostitutes receive legacies. They are only forbidden to be left to priests and monks, and the prohibition comes, not from persecutors, but from Christian princes; I do not complain of the law, but I grieve we should have deserved it. The remedy is a good one, but what must have been the wound that needed such a cure; the measure is prudent as severe, and even with all those precautions avarice is not sup-

pressed; by the favour of the clerks we elude the law.'

Elsewhere, Saint Jerome calls the Roman clergy a pharisaical senate, an ignorant faction. 'Read,' he exclaims, 'the Revelation of John; read what is foretold of the woman robed in scarlet and of the blasphemy written on her forehead; of the seven hills, the great waters, and the ruin of Babylon. There is figured, doubtless, a holy church, with the triumphs of the apostles and martyrs, but ambition and power pervert many.' Saint Jerome speaks like Luther. It is remarkable that this same saint, though attached to the faith of the Romish Church, and even during a long time secretary to Pope Damasus, did not admit the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. 'If we seek authority says he, 'the universe ought to prevail over a city. Wherever one is bishop, be it Rome or Eugubia, Constantinople or Rhegium, Alexandria or Thanis, one holds the same rank in the priesthood.[1]

Such were the ideas of the fourth century.

Damasus himself was not beyond the reach of the accusation, made against the Romish priests of his time. Being exposed to the attacks of the party who had opposed his election, he was accused of adultery and acquitted in a council. Saint Jerome, who was also calumniated, celebrates in his writings the innocence and purity of life of the Roman pontiff. Damasus appears, moreover, to have kept his place by the same violent means he had used to gain it. He rigorously

[1] 'Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicumque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Thanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem sacerdotis.'—(S. Hieronymi *Epist. ad Evagrium.*)

persecuted the partisans of his former rival Ursino, and obtained against them a decrée, whose execution was confided to the pagan governor Pretextat, who drove them out of their church by force. On another occasion the pontiff himself attacked them at the head of a great number of the people, and many were killed. He punished with the same severity the Donatists, and another sect that also came from Africa.

But these quarrels and insignificant persecutions were small things compared to the great struggle of Christianity at large, still distracted by the doctrine of Arius. Valens, the brother of Valentinian, who had been placed by him on the throne of the East, adopted the opinions of this sect, and persecuted the followers of Athanasius. The most eminent doctors of the East, thus oppressed in their own country, turned their eyes towards the Bishop of Rome. In so doing they did not recognise a supreme jurisdiction, but they invoked alliance and support. It was in a council in which the oriental bishops predominated in numbers, that the dogmas which were disputed by the Arians had been proclaimed. Rome had received the faith from Nice.

Nevertheless, Damasus, animated by that spirit of authority which appears in his Church like a tradition of the Roman policy, received the complaints of the Orientals with the haughtiness of a judge. He answered them by sending to them a formula of faith. Saint Basil exclaims in his letters against what he calls the extreme ostentation of the Westerns. He accuses Damasus of ignorance and prejudice, and regrets having written to him. 'I now remember,' says he, 'the words of Diomedes in Homer ; thou shouldst not have

entreated Achilles, he is too proud.' We can perceive that the Greek Church, with its vivid imagination, proud of its great men, of its subtle learning, of its very disputes, revolted at the idea of receiving instructions from an Italian bishop. But the continual divisions among the Easterns prepared the way for their falling under the yoke they so disdained. The bishops of Egypt, of Achaia, and of Asia, driven from their sees, repaired to Rome for refuge; but no bishop of Italy ever carried plaints to the East or ever sought protection there.

Faithfully attached to the doctrine of Nice, which rendered the Christian religion more mysterious, more elevated, more distinct from the philosophical theism, the Church of Rome was to increase its power by the victory which this doctrine obtained, by the genius of the bishops of the East and the protection of Theodosius. It may be said that this prince did for the doctrine of Athanasius, what Constantine had done for Christianity.

From Jerusalem to Lutetia, the Roman world had for half a century been divided into Catholics and Arians; and each party triumphed in turn, according to the chances of a reign, the caprices of the princes, their ministers or their eunuchs. Then appears Theodosius, that great and victorious captain who had been summoned to share and defend the empire by the choice of Gratian; he receives baptism from the hand of a Catholic priest, and proclaims the doctrine of Nice the law of the empire. 'We will,' he says in a memorable decree, 'that all the people governed by our clemency live in the religion which the divine Apostle Peter transmitted to the Romans, and which is followed by

the pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. We decree that all those who follow this faith shall take the name of Catholics; for the rest, esteeming them blind and insensate, we will that they bear the disgraceful name of heretics, and that their places of assembly be no more called churches. We leave their punishment, in the first place, to divine vengeance; and further we shall move ourselves, as we may be moved of God.'[1]

This edict, which was first issued at Thessalonica, and rigorously carried out in Constantinople and all the East, was doubtless dictated as much by policy as religion. Theodosius, already the sovereign of the East, was anxious to secure the fidelity of the most powerful of the Western Churches. The protector of the youthful Valentinian, who then reigned in Italy, Theodosius, by practising one only form of faith, whose supreme organs he recognised in the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria, established the most powerful tie between the two extremities of the Roman world.

But it happened, at this period, as it always does in violent disputes on matters of opinion, partial dissent inspires more violent hatred than total disbelief.

[1] 'Cunctus populus, quos clementiæ nostræ regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolorum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat; quamque Pontificem Damasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alexandriæ, virum apostolicæ sanctitatis; ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam evanglicamque doctrinam Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti unum Deitatem sub parili majestate et sub pia trinitate credamus. Hanc legem sequentes *Christianorum Catholicorum* nomen jubemus amplecti; reliquos vero dementes væsanosque judicantes, hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere; nec conciliabula eorum ecclesiæ nomen accipere: divina primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quem ex cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos.'—(*Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. vol. i. ch. 1. p. 2.)

The Arians, who refused some dogmas of the victorious creed, were more persecuted than the pagans who denied it all. The office of Roman prefect was, as before, filled by one of the sect of the polytheists, Symmachus by name, who was renowned for an oratorical talent that passed for eloquence.

Many heads of the senatorial families held the same opinions as Symmachus, and the Christians of the time agree in saying that some illustrious men were included in the number. This party, though small, was in a manner the refuge of the ancient Roman aristocracy. Its zeal for the worship of the gods was rather a religion of souvenirs and patriotism than a positive belief in confused and doubtful fables. For that reason it was less displeasing to the Roman Church than the audacity of the Christian reformers who separated themselves from her. The obstinacy of the pagans was in some sort an idle error which was the less odious on account of its powerlessness. Shut up within the walls of the studies of a few lawyers and men of letters, this speculative attachment to the ancient faith did not act on the masses, who were attracted by the ceremonies, the prayers, and the alms of the Christian worship. A poet of the time describes the conversion of the common people of Rome with that truth of detail we seek in history.[1]

[1] 'Post hinc ad populum converte oculos. Quota pars est
Quæ Jovis infectam sanie non disputat aram?
Omnis qui celsa scendit cœnacula vulgus,
Quique terit silicem variis discursibus atram,
Et quem panis alit gradibus dispensus ab altis:
Aut Vaticano tumulum sub monte frequentat.
Quo cinis ille latet genitoris amabilis obses,

It was in the height of this popularity of the new faith, that paganism, favoured by the changes that disturbed the West, made a feeble effort.

The young Gratian had been assassinated in Gaul by one of his generals, who then assumed the imperial purple, and appeared prepared to threaten both the power and the life of Valentinian. The pagan senators of Rome chose this moment of danger to prefer a request that the statue of Victory should be replaced in the senate-house. The Prefect of Rome, Symmachus, at their entreaty, addressed a report to the Emperor, in which it is easy to trace the adroitness of a pagan but patriotic philosopher, who regrets the loss of a thing in which he does not believe, and ingeniously discusses souvenirs in default of convictions. Meantime, the Christian portion of the senate applied to the Bishop of Rome, Damasus, to prevent the granting of a mischievous request. The pontiff was now aged, and though he had with him the young and eloquent Jerome, he called in the aid of one whose opinion would claim more respect from Valentinian.

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was then the foremost individual in Latin Christendom, whether by his services, his genius, or his virtues. His skilful negotiation had been the salvation of Valentinian, and had retarded the invasion projected by Maximus. He opposed a most eloquent reply to the petition of Symmachus, and secured its rejection.

> Cœtibus aut magnis Lateranas currit ad ædes,
> Unde sacrum referat regali chrismate signum.
> Et dubitamus adhuc Romam tibi, Christe, dicatam
> In leges transisse tuas?'
>
> (Prudentii *Contra Symmachum*, lib. i. verse 579, page 277.)

The attempt of Symmachus made him enemies, and he was accused at the Court of Theodosius of having taken advantage of his office at Rome, to put Christians to the torture, and to imprison bishops. The defence of Symmachus is remarkable; he cites in his favour letters written by Damasus, whom he styles the honourable bishop of the Christians, and which declare that not one of the followers of his religion had sustained the smallest injury by the prefect's orders.[1]

We see by this example, and many others, that the eminent men of both faiths had ended by living in peace, and doing justice to each other. Many Christians wrote earnestly against the restoration of the altar of Victory; but they all mention Symmachus honourably, and praise both his virtue and the gravity of his manners. Damasus died after a pontificate of eighteen years, and left his Church already free and respected.

Damasus cannot be compared for talent with the gifted men who filled the Christian sees of the East, of Greece, and even of some of the Western cities. He was far from exercising over his contemporaries the authority of a Chrysostom or an Ambrosius; but we see in him something of the tenacious and active ambition which increased the power of the Roman Church.

The residence of the Emperors at Milan completed what the founding of Constantinople had begun.

If the sovereigns of the West had dwelt at Rome, the Pope would have been, like the Patriarch of Constantinople, feared and persecuted by turns, but always dependent on the intrigues of the palace. But when

[1] . . . . Sane laudabili viro episcopo . . . . litteris, ejusdem religionis assectatores negavit ullam contumeliam pertulisse.—(*Epist.* 34.)

Milan was chosen as the capital of Italy, Rome belonged wholly to religion.

A circumstance to be remarked is, that Ambrose in his see of Milan, being too near the Court, was, notwithstanding his value and his virtues, more than once assailed by the violence of imperial power: Damasus remained powerful and respected at Rome. The Churches of the West grew accustomed to looking on this Church as the religious metropolis; it had a school of priests less learned, less ingenious in arguments than those of the East, but careful to preserve ancient customs, uniform in their practice, and admitting no innovation, except the incessant extension of their privileges.

The change of masters passed over it without disturbing it. Maximus seized on Italy; Theodosius vanquished Maximus, and replaced Valentinian on the throne of Milan. Valentinian was slain by Abrogastes, who invested a phantom of an emperor with the purple, and in order to form for himself a party, restored idol worship.

Theodosius, once more summoned from the East, delivered Italy, and restored in his person the empire of Constantine. The Church of Rome, ever the same in the midst of these shocks, was extending its invisible power under its obscure chiefs.

Syricius, the successor of Damasus, in his reply to the bishop metropolitan of the province of Tarragona, regulates various questions of discipline, and notably forbids the marriage of monks, priests, and bishops, contrary to the custom practised in the East, and even in the Church of Milan. Here begins clearly to appear the spirit of the Church of Rome, and its intention

to separate priests from the ordinary conditions of humanity, in order to render them more docile under a chief. What that great legislative senate of Christendom, the Council of Nice, had chosen to leave undecided, what was not obligatory on the Churches of Asia, and of Greece, the celibacy of priests, was made so by this letter.

Theodosius then completed the triumph of Christianity over the ancient faith, and the doctrine of Athanasius over all Christian sects. In every part of his vast empire, he caused to be destroyed all the remaining temples and idols; and when he was dying, he entreated some senators, who were still pagans, to renounce their religion, and adore the God who had so often led them to victory.

However, the active protection of this emperor advanced rather the entire Christian priesthood, than the Church of Rome in particular.

Syricius, Bishop of Rome, banished at his will Manicheans, Jovinians, and other sects, against whom the rigorous edicts of Theodosius took effect; but this same Syricius, having desired to bring before him, at a Council of Rome, Flavian, Bishop of Antioch, obtained only a refusal. The prelate would not recognise this foreign jurisdiction, nor submit to the see of Rome, a city which claimed the title of metropolitan of the East. Theodosius did not insist, out of respect, no doubt, to the virtues of the pontiff who had formerly won from him the pardon of Antioch.

THIRD PERIOD.

FROM THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

On the death of Theodosius, the empire was once more divided, and this disunion kept up that between the Churches. While the Christians of the East were torn by the schisms and quarrels that banished even the great Chrysostom from the see of Constantinople, the Church of Rome, under less celebrated chiefs, continued to extend its power in the West. Still the authority of the see of Milan almost equalled that of Rome; and each Christian society had its particular rule in regard to many points and customs. 'My mother,' says Saint Augustine, 'having joined me at Milan, found that Church did not fast on Saturdays, and was at a loss what to do. I consulted on the matter Saint Ambrose, of holy memory. He replied, "When I am at Rome, I fast on a Saturday. When I am at Milan, I do not; do the same. Follow the custom of the Church where you are."'[1]

A council, held at Carthage, at the beginning of the

[1] 'Mater mea me Mediolanum consecuta, invenit ecclesiam sabbato non jejunantem, cœperit fluctuare quid ageret. Tunc ego consului de hac re beatissimæ memoriæ virum Ambrosium. At ille ait: '"Cum Romam venio, jejuno sabbato; cum Mediolanum sum, non jejuno. Sic etiam tu, ad quam forte ecclesiam veneris, ejus morem serva."'—(August. *Epist. ad Januarium*, p. 118, cap. 11.)

fifth century, consulted at the same time, both the Bishop of Rome, Anastasius, the successor of Syricius, and the Bishop of Milan, Venerius, the successor of Saint Ambrose. Those two Churches were, nevertheless, divided on questions of greater importance than fasting on Saturdays. The Church of Milan allowed its priests to marry, only prohibiting them to marry a second time. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, strove to establish a uniform rule in this respect throughout the West. In 404, Innocent I., the successor of Anastasius, prescribed it to a Bishop of Rouen, in Gaul.

His letter is remarkable, because therein, for the first time, the Church of Rome appears to claim the judgment in the ecclesiastical matters reserved, in the Council of Nice, for the consideration of a meeting of bishops in each province.

Innocent I., himself, refers to this fundamental article of the early Christian constitution, but he adds, 'Without prejudice always to the rights of the Church of Rome, which must have great weight in all causes.' Under these vague and timid words, we may already read all the future claims of Roman supremacy. The misfortunes of the empire were to favour them.

While under the feeble reigns of Honorius and Arcadius, the Roman world was plunged either in the fury of controversy, or the apathy of the cloister, the barbarians made irruptions on all sides, and then began a new order of things for the Roman Pontificate; and even as its first grandeur was due to the abandonment of Rome by the emperor, so the height of its power was prepared by the wreck of the ancient state of

society, the invasion of Italy, and the fall of the empire of the West.

Alaric, King of the Goths, who had long been in the pay of Theodosius, having taken up arms against the weak inheritor of the empire, came down upon Italy, bringing in his train the barbarian hordes from the banks of the Danube.

The Emperor of the West, Honorius, not daring to inhabit either Rome or Milan, as being too exposed to the barbarians, had taken refuge in Ravenna, on the shores of the Adriatic, so as to be all the more ready for flight. Italy possessed no means of defence, but there were still Roman legions in Gaul and Germany, and, as it happened, a great man at their head. Stilicho conquered Alaric near Pollentia. Strange was the influence of religion, that at this period entered into everything!

In Greece, Alaric besieged, and destitute of provisions on the heights of Foloë, had escaped from the Roman army while Stilicho was present at some pagan ceremony, revived by the patriotism of the Hellenes. In Italy, Alaric was defeated because his soldiers, recently converted to Arianism, were, in their untaught faith, afraid to fight on Easter Day.

Still terrible, even in defeat, Alaric forced Honorius to purchase his retreat from Italy; and, having soon after raised new legions of barbarians, he reappeared on the banks of the Po, and, proceeding to Rome, laid siege to the city. Terror then made many of the Romans regret their ancient gods. The expiring Roman empire was like those sick men who, when their lives are despaired of, fly to any impostor for succour.

There were at this time in Rome some men who had come from Tuscany, the native land of the aruspices. They boasted of having, by their prayers and ceremonies, preserved the little town of Neveia from the assault of the barbarians, by causing a storm of thunder and lightning to burst over them. The prefect of the city was anxious to make inquiries as to this extraordinary succour, but, being a Christian, he dared not authorise the celebration of ceremonies taken from the ancient worship, without consulting the Bishop of Rome, Innocent I. The latter, out of deference to the public apprehensions, consented to allow the ceremonies to be performed in secret. But the Tuscan impostors declared that their sacrifices could not profit the city unless they were public, unless the senate came to their offering at the capitol, and thence went in procession through the places and streets of the city. The success of the experiment was not put to the proof, and the fears of the Romans led to the adoption of a more efficacious expedient. Their bishop undertook to negotiate for the ransom of the city with Alaric. The barbarian received as the price of his retreat, 5,000 pounds weight of gold, 3,000 pounds weight of silver, 3,000 silken robes, 3,000 pieces of scarlet cloth, and 4,000 pounds of pepper. In order to furnish a portion of this tribute, some of the statues of the gods that still remained were melted down.

By a noticeable clause, the Bishop, Innocent, had stipulated that the city of Rome should be the mediator between Alaric and Honorius. But the latter, shut up in Ravenna, and weak as he was, refused to give the command of the imperial armies to the barbarian

general. Alaric, in displeasure, returned towards Rome. The Pope Innocent set out at the head of an embassy, composed of the principal inhabitants of the city, to stay the march of the conqueror by entreaty; but being unsuccessful, he joined Honorius in Ravenna. Alaric received a second ranson, and amused himself by creating emperor of the Romans one Attalus, a prefect; but not satisfied with this, he returned a third time to Rome, and finally took it by assault. This great city, still rich in public monuments and in wealth, was given up to pillage during three days. Alaric, however, spared the Christian churches; they saved from dishonour and death all who took refuge in them, and thus the power of the priesthood is seen to increase in the country's humiliation.

After having partly destroyed Rome, Alaric withdrew, loaded with immense booty, to carry his arms into Sicily and Africa. But he was seized with a sudden illness, and died near Consentia. The chiefs of his army, fearing that his ashes would not be respected by the vanquished, buried him in the bed of the river Busentinus, which they turned from its course for this purpose; the river, returning afterwards to its bed, hid the conqueror's grave with its waters; and we are told that all the prisoners that had been employed in the work, were slaughtered by the barbarians as a measure of precaution.

The theological disputes were more violent than ever; the empire fell amid the din of controversy. After the retreat of the Goths, the Pope Innocent returned to Rome, to find it half destroyed and half depopulated. In reply to the application of the bishops

of Africa, Innocent declared that he cut off from his communion the heresiarch Pelagius.

Not long after, a Christian poet celebrated this condemnation, saying: 'Rome was the first to strike the monster; Rome, the see of Saint Peter, which, having become the seat of pastoral dignity for the whole world, conquers by religion all that she has not won by arms.'[1] Thus the conviction of the religious pre-eminence of Rome grew stronger in the midst of the misfortunes of the empire, and another domination was substituted for that of victory.

Yet further, in the midst of the frequent invasions that wasted the West, the provincial councils of the bishops became less frequent, and, consequently, appeals were more often made to the Bishop of Rome. He claimed to give rules to the councils, and sometimes supported his pretensions by imposture. Zozimus, the successor of Innocent, displayed before a council assembled at Carthage, pretended articles of the Council of Nice, which submitted all the other Churches to the Church of Rome. The African bishops protested that they could find nothing of the kind in their reports of the Council of Nice; they gave way notwithstanding. But the dispute was renewed afterwards, and was only terminated at last by the imperial power.

Zozimus having died after a pontificate of one year, the clergy, and the leaders of the workmen's quarter, were divided as to the election of his successor between the archdeacon Eulalius and the priest Boniface. The

[1] '. . . . Pestem subeuntem prima cecidit
Sedes Roma Petri,—quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo quidquid non possidet armis
Religione tenet.' —(Sanct. Prosper.)

prefect of Rome favoured Eulalius. However, the Emperor having summoned the two competitors before him at Ravenna, approved the election of Boniface. He next issued an edict to the effect that if two bishops of Rome should be chosen at once, both should be banished from the city, and that the Holy Apostolic See should only belong to him who, in a new election, should be chosen by the judgment of God and the consent of the people.

But these imperial decrees did not impede the rise of the Roman Pontificate. It would seem, rather, that the feeble emperors of the West, shifting their courts from Milan to Ravenna, and conscious that their power was slipping from their grasp, then conceived the idea of providing a support in the extension of the Roman pontificate. This is the spectacle which the fifth century offers to our view; but in order to comprehend it we must pause for a moment.

Leo the Great.

In 440 the Roman see was filled by a man of superior ability. Nearly all the popes have received the surname of Saint, but Leo appears to be the first who merited the name of Great. During a pontificate of one and twenty years, he rendered more strict the rules of discipline, the foundation of the ecclesiastical power, contended with opposing sects, governed and defended the people of Rome, abandoned by its master, and treated with the barbarians. But what it is more important to notice, is the advance he made to the unity of power by the assistance of the emperors of the West.

The Churches of Gaul were then numerous and flourishing, more especially in the southern provinces, which had long ago been civilised by the Roman arms; Christianity there numbered eloquent apostles among its members; the metropolitan see of Arles derived honour from the virtues and talents of Saint Hilary. The disputes of these Churches were judged in the national councils, which considered themselves independent of the Roman Church, though they had more than once consulted it. A Gaulish bishop, deposed in one of these synods for having before his ordination married a widow, and pronounced sentences of death, carried his appeal to Rome. Saint Hilary came, too, to defend the sentence pronounced by the council, but being censured by the Roman pontiff, he withdrew suddenly and returned to his Church. Leo then, in a synod which he held in Rome, commended the reinstatement of the deposed bishop, and complained that Hilary would not submit to blessed Peter, and that he arrogated to himself the management of all the Churches of Gaul, and despoiled the Church of Arles of its title of metropolitan to transfer it to the Church of Vienne. We cannot doubt that this power was excessive, and still new, for Leo took care to obtain the support of a rescript of Valentinian III., Emperor of the West. The wording of it is curious, and clearly shows to what extent the Roman pontificate was already master of the civil power of whose assistance it avails itself.

'The decision of the Pope of Rome,' says the Emperor, 'ought to be powerful enough in Gaul without our imperial sanction; for what rights has not this great pontiff over the Churches. But we have a reason

for making this decree; which is, that Hilary, who by the goodness of the Pope alone still bears the title of bishop, may not, he nor any other, trouble by arms the order of things ecclesiastical, nor resist the orders of the Roman pontiff. We forbid, henceforth and for ever, the bishops of Gaul and the other provinces to undertake anything against established custom, without the authorisation of the venerable Pope of the eternal city. Let them receive as law, they and all others, whatsoever has been decided or shall hereafter be decided by the apostolic see; and let every bishop, who, being summoned before the tribunal of the pontiff of Rome, shall neglect to appear, be forced to attend there by the governor of the province. Given under the Emperor's divine hand the eighth of the ides of June, 445.'

Doubtless these words were not dictated solely by religious respect. At a period when the episcopal power was everywhere rising on the ruins of society, when many bishops even treated with the barbarians, the Emperor of the West must have thought it good to bring them under obedience to a pontiff residing in Italy, the centre of the empire. Christian Rome seemed to have become the last and only link of society that was crumbling to pieces and dissolving in all its parts.

The feeble Emperor, in his retreat at Ravenna, would never have dared to say, that the bishop of that obscure and recent capital, ought to give laws to all the bishops of the empire. He sought then elsewhere the means of uniting them and restraining them, and therefore he gave to Rome that immense power he did not himself possess.

But this liberality was of no advantage to the empire, and served only to strengthen the authority of the Church under one head.

While the Church of Rome was consolidating its power in the West, the lively imagination of the Eastern furnished it with opportunities of exercising its influence. The theological heresies engendered by the Greek spirit, and often turning on the grammatical sense of a word or phrase, sought at Rome either partisans or judges. After Nestorius came Eutychus, and the question of the twofold nature of Jesus Christ. Eutychus being condemned by a council held at Constantinople, under its bishop, Flavian, instantly appealed to the Church of Rome. The natural leaning which the bishops of Rome had in favour of those who had been condemned by the bishops of Constantinople, caused the complaints preferred of Eutychus to be at first willingly received. At the same time, Leo wrote to Theodosius, the Emperor of the East, demanding that the question should be judged in a council assembled in Italy. But the intrigues of the eunuchs in the palace of Constantinople favoured Eutychus. A new council was assembled at Ephesus: the partisans of Eutychus formed the majority; and this council, known as the Brigand Council of Ephesus, proceeded to violence. Cudgels were used and swords drawn, and in the midst of this scene the absolution of Eutychus and the exile of Flavian were proclaimed. Leo, in a council held at Rome, formally condemned these acts of the council of Ephesus, and by the influence he had with the wife and the sister of Valentinian, he caused letters to be written to the Emperor of the East, who persisted in supporting the

decision of the council of Ephesus. But, Theodosius dying, Marcian, his sister's husband, was raised to the throne, and took measures for convoking a general council at Nice.

While the attention of mankind was fixed on these disputes, the Franks, the Vandals, and the Huns deluged one half of the empire. The terrible Attila, who had met with a temporary check in Gaul, having directed his march eastward by way of Illyria, the place of the council was changed to Chalcedon in Asia. But it lost nothing either in pomp or earnestness by the alteration.

In this great assembly, the Church of Rome received homage that testified to the progress of its power. On the reading of a letter from Leo to Flavian, the bishops present all exclaimed, with one accord, 'Peter hath spoken by the mouth of Leo; it is the doctrine of the apostles.' The council then pronounced the union separate, unchangeable, and indivisible of two natures in Jesus Christ, and took measures to reinstate or to depose a great many of the bishops who had been engaged in this debate; thus complete was the authority then exercised by the councils alone, in deciding questions of dogma and of discipline! The Bishop of Rome, however, protested against a decree of this assembly, which placed the see of Constantinople next after that of Rome, thus giving it pre-eminence over the bishoprics of Antioch and Alexandria. We see in this the views of Roman ambition; it would not admit Constantinople even to the second rank.

While the civilised world was thus busy with theological debates, Attila, having recruited his forces

among the barbarians, came down upon Italy. He sacked and burned Aquilea, Pavia, and Milan, and marched towards Rome with the intention of exterminating the very genius of the empire that seemed still to linger in the eternal city. Fortunately,[1] the superstition that instigated the conqueror, also made him hesitate. The recollection that Alaric lived but a short time after the sacking of Rome, came to his mind as an evil augury. In the midst of the universal terror the Pope Leo came forth from Rome with two senators (one of whom was the father of Cassiodorus, the historian of those wretched times), and repaired to the barbarian camp near Ambuleium, on the banks of the Mincio. The sight of the pontiff, the idea of that unknown God whose minister he was, and possibly, too, a rich ransom, influenced the barbarian king; he consented to forego his march on Rome, and even withdrew his forces to beyond the Danube.[2] The contemporary writers relate prodigies in connection with these events; they say that the Apostle Saint Peter appeared in the air with a flaming sword,[3] and this terrified the King of the Huns, while the Pope was entreating him. It would seem, however, that the pagan superstition still remaining in Rome laid claim to the honour of this event. We may infer as much from the words of Leo, in a discourse pronounced by him on the anniversary of the deliverance which Rome owed to him. He reproaches the people with being attracted by the

[1] 'Alarici objicientes exemplum, quia ille post fractam Romam diu non supervixerat.'—(Jornand *de Reb. Get.* cap. xlii.)

[2] 'Leo papa ad eum accedit in agro Venetûm Ambuleio . . . rex . . . mox deposuit excitatum furorem . . . et ultra Danubium discessit.'—(Idem.)

[3] 'Evaginato gladio . . . mortem minitantem.'—(*Hist. Miscell.*)

games in the circus instead of thronging the churches. 'And yet,' he says, 'what was it that delivered this city from captivity? What saved it from carnage—the games of the circus, or the protection of the holy apostles whose prayers softened the justice of heaven? Come, then, to God, acknowledging the wonders He has done through us; and attribute your deliverance not to the influences of the stars, like the pagans, but to the mercy of God, who deigned to touch the hearts of those barbarians.'[1]

Soon after his retreat from Italy, Attila died, and the West breathed for awhile. But the ruin of the Western Empire was not stayed. One barbaric conqueror came after another. As soon as Alaric was dead, Genseric appeared in Italy.

Valentinian had just been assassinated in Rome by Maximus, one of his generals, who took possession of his throne and married his widow. We are told that she, to revenge herself, summoned the King of the Vandals from Africa. But the rich prey of Italy invited him sufficiently.

Genseric's fleet appeared suddenly at the mouth of the Tiber. The new emperor was powerless to defend what he had acquired by crime; no attempt was even made to offer resistance to the Vandals. Leo, followed by all his clergy, came out of the city gates, entreating

[1] 'Quis hanc urbem a captivitate eruit? Quis a cæde defendit? Ludus circensium, an cura sanctorum, quorum utique precibus divinæ censuræ flexa sententia est? Revertimini ad Dominum, intelligentes mirabilia quæ in nobis dignatus est operari, et liberationem nostram, non, sicut opinantur impii, stellarum effectibus, sed ineffabili omnipotentis Dei misericordiæ deputantes, qui corda barbarorum mitigare dignatus est.'—(S. Leonis *Sermo* lxxxi.)

Genseric to promise at least neither to burn the city nor slaughter its inhabitants.

The barbarian invader promised that no blood should be shed, and that the churches should be spared, but he insisted that the city should be given up to pillage. The Emperor was killed, and the widow and daughter of Valentinian, as well as a great number of citizens and noble ladies, were carried into slavery. Genseric having thus spoiled Rome, returned to Carthage with his great booty.

Leo, in the midst of the sacked city, devoted himself to alleviate the public misery. He had saved three great basilicæ from the pillage; they contained many massive silver vases, the gift of Constantine. The pontiff had those melted down, to distribute succour to the various parishes of the city. Thus by the anarchy and miseries of conquest, the Bishop of Rome became insensibly its temporal chief.

He continued also to extend his jurisdiction over the foreign Churches; we find in his last letters, instructions given to the bishops of Friuli and of Narbonne, as to the Churches of Italy. Leo ruled them all by his counsels and authority. He imposed on them various rules of discipline; but one thing to be remarked is, the zeal with which he interdicted the practice of public confession, then common, to substitute for it private confession, more favourable to the power of the priest.

Leo died after a pontificate of twenty-one years, leaving the Church as powerful as the Empire was weak. That power was already at this time not only based on the genius of the man who held it, but on the

maxims of religious submission that day by day obtained in the West.

Under Hilary, the successor of Leo, the bishops of the province of Tarragona came to the see of Rome to obtain its approbation of their acts. Their language seems to prefigure already that chimera of infallibility which the Christian world was as yet far from recognising. 'Adoring God in you,' they wrote, 'we fly to that faith glorified by the lips of an apostle and we ask an answer from that chair, where nothing is taught by error and presumption, but where all things are decided by a Pontifical examination.'[1]

The Vandals, Arians in religion, had conquered Spain; and the Churches of the ancient inhabitants, oppressed by these victors, were drawn thereby closer to the Roman Church. Meantime the Empire of the West was about to pass into the hands of the barbarians, who had invaded, pillaged, or served it for the last three hundred years; and, strange sight! while Rome summoned the Patriarch of Constantinople to its tribunal, Rome herself received her sovereign at the hands of the Emperor of the East. The Church had gained in power all the Senate had lost. At length a chief, the son of a former secretary to Attila, Odoacer, King of the Heruli, overthrew Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West. Rome fell into his power on the 23rd of August, 476. The work of Alaric was finished, the Roman Empire was no more.

Odoacer continued nevertheless to respect the su-

[1] 'Proinde Deum in vobis penitus adcrantes, ad fidem recurrimus apostolico ore laudatam, inde responsum quærentes, unde nihil errore, nihil præsumptione, sed pontificali totum deliberatione præcipitur.'—(Pagi, p. 211.)

premacy of the Empire of the East. He received from it the title of patrice, which he united to that of king, bestowed on him by his victorious soldiers. For the rest, he neither wore the purple nor bore the sceptre, but, by distributing amongst his troops one third of the lands of Italy, he really founded a new state and a new nation. The bishops of Rome, by reason of their jealousy of the Greek Church, all the more readily acknowledged a master who delivered them from the yoke of the East. They continued to govern the churches of Italy, and to excommunicate those of Constantinople. Odoacer reserved to himself the right of approving their election. At the death of the Pope Simplicius, a deputy from Odoacer came to be present at the election of his successor; but, at the same time, Odoacer increased the power of the Church, by a law which forbade the alienation of any domain or any sacred vessel belonging to the Roman Church. Thus, while the ancient inhabitants of Italy were partially despoiled of their possessions, the clergy, enriched by inalienable gifts, ever acquiring, never losing, found their power increase under a prince who was an Arian and a barbarian.

FOURTH PERIOD.

PROGRESS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH UNDER THEODORIC AND THE LOMBARD KINGS.

ODOACER ruled but a short time; he paved the way for the founders of new monarchies in Italy, as Alaric had done for its conquerors. A chief of the race of the Ostrogoths, in a district of Pannonia, Theodoric, who had been brought up as a hostage at the Court of Byzantium and who had afterwards been its ally and its enemy by turns, offered the Emperor Zeno to go and take Italy from the Heruli. 'If I conquer them,' said he, 'the glory will be yours; if I perish, you will no longer have to pay me my pension, and you will be rid of my nation, which is a burden to you.' Zeno consented, and thus himself brought new barbarians into Italy. Theodoric and all his people set out from Pannonia mounted on chariots of war, entered Friuli in 489, and defeated Odoacer's troops. Italy then became a battle-field for the foreign conquerors who fought for the possessions of its inhabitants. Odoacer, repeatedly defeated, fled from one city to another. Rome shut her gates against him; and the bishops of Milan and Pavia hastened to treat with Theodoric. What strikes us most in this rapid revolution, is the intelligence and promptitude which the clergy exhibited in allying themselves with the new master, and thus

securing for themselves more favourable conditions. Having withdrawn to Ravenna, where he defended himself for three years, the unfortunate Odoacer capitulated at length by the advice and mediation of the bishop of the city, gave himself up to the conqueror, and was put to death by his orders. Theodoric, though belonging to the Arian sect, continued greatly to favour many bishops of Italy whose zeal he had proved. Protected by the prince, they were the intercessors of the conquered people, obtained the redemption of captives, the diminution of taxes, and some relief for the provinces that had suffered most by the war. Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, was especially venerated in these times; but the Bishop of Rome always held the highest rank, on account of the dignity of his see. Humble under the power of Theodoric, he affects in his letters great haughtiness towards the Emperor of the East. It would be a curious study to compare the letters written by Anastasius II., bishop of Rome, to the Emperor of Constantinople, and to the barbarian chiefs of a Frank tribe at Cludœc, recently converted to the Christian faith. In writing to the Emperor of the East, from whom he had no longer anything to hope or to fear, Anastatius speaks only of the obedience that is due from kings to bishops, and especially to the Pontiff of the Roman Church; to him whom the Almighty had placed above all other priests, and whose pre-eminence has been constantly extolled by the Church. But in the letter of the pontiff of Rome to the young barbarian chief, we find none but alluring and flattering expressions.

'We congratulate thee, glorious son, in that thy conversion to the Christian faith should have commenced

with the commencement of our pontificate. The chair of Saint Peter cannot, on such an occasion, help expressing its joy at seeing many nations coming to it and filling the net which the fisherman, the door-keeper of the heavenly Jerusalem, was ordered to let down into the great deep.

'We have desired to let thee know this through the medium of the priest Eumerius, so that thou mayest complete the measure of our joy, that thou mayest be our crown, and that the mother Church may rejoice in the good works of so great a king, whom she has brought to God. Rejoice then, glorious and noble son of thy mother, and be thou for her a pillar of iron.

'We hope in thee against all hope, and we render praise to God, who has brought thee out of the power of darkness, and given to the Church, in the person of so great a prince, a defender to become her protection, and a shield of salvation against all the foul attempts of the wicked. Go on, dear and glorious son, so that the Almighty God may surround thee and thy kingdom with his protection, that He may give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways, and to give thee the victory over all thine enemies.'[1]

[1] 'Tuum, gloriose fili, in Christiana fide, cum exordio nostro in pontificatu contigisse gratulamur. Quippe sedes Petri in tanta occasione non potest non lætari cum plenitudinem gentium intuetur ad eam veloci gradu concurrere, et per temporum spatia repleri sagenam, quam in altum jussus est mittere idem piscator et cœlestis Jerusalem beatus claviger. Quod serenitati tuæ insinuare voluimus per umerium presbyterum, ut cum audiveris lætitiam patris, crescas in bonis operibus, impleas gaudium nostrum, et sis corona nostra, gaudeatque Mater Ecclesia de tanti regis, quem nuper Deo peperit profectu. Lætifica ergo, gloriose et illustris fili, matrem tuam, et esto illi in columnam ferream. Sed speramus in spem contra spem, et Dominum collaudamus qui eruit te de potestate tenebrarum, et in tanto principe providit Ecclesiæ, qui possit eam tueri et contra occurrentes pesti-

Does it not appear, as we read this letter addressed to Clovis, who in all his conquests treated with the bishops, that the Church of Rome, so humble under the hand of Theodoric, sought to secure for itself another protector more distant?

On the death of Anastasius, Theodoric exercised the right, which had been the emperor's, of confirming the election of the Bishop of Rome. Two powerful parties disputed the possession of the pontifical dignity by force of arms. Theodoric declared for Symmachus, who, it is said, had the greatest number of votes. But his opponent, Lawrence, continued to disturb the Church, and an end was only put to these troubles by the presence of the Emperor, who came to Rome in all the glory of his triumph. Theodoric, though an Arian, went first to the basilica of Saint Peter, to offer his devotions, and then repaired to the senate, where he promised to observe the laws of the empire; and finally, he distributed corn to the people, and ordered games in the circus. Theodoric was, we know, the most enlightened of the barbarian conquerors; he governed the vanquished according to their own laws. Restricting to the people he had brought with him the exclusive use of arms, he maintained civil equality amongst all; he was equally tolerant in religious matters; and far from forcing conversions, he punished the apostasy of a courtier with death.

The Church of Rome resisted Theodoric, as it had

ferorum conatus galeam salutis induere. Perge igitur, dilecte et gloriose fili, ut Deus omnipotens serenitatem tuam et regnum protectione cœlesti prosequatur, et angelis suis mandet ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis et det tibi in circuitu de inimicis tuis victoriam.'—(*Rer. Gallic. et Franc. Scriptores*, vol. iv.)

resisted the Greek emperors. Symmachus called a council, which decreed that the election of the Bishop of Rome ought to be made without asking the opinion of either prince or prefect.

Theodoric then permitted the renewal of the dispute he had himself put down. Symmachus was master of the Vatican, his opponents of the Lateran palace. They each possessed some of the churches, and contended with violence for the rest. Theodoric at last ordered the assembling of a council to judge Symmachus, who was accused, as the prince says in his letter, 'of horrible things.'

In these circumstances was displayed the influence which the pontifical power had gained over many minds. At the news, the Churches of the West were moved. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, in Narbonese Gaul, wrote to the Senate of Rome, to tell them how great was his grief. 'Let not,' he says, 'the hierarchy of the Church be of less value in your eyes than that of the republic. If the Pope of Rome be in peril, it is not a bishop, it is the whole episcopate that is attacked. The bishops of the council followed the advice of the Bishop of Vienne; they all declined to vote unless the Pope they were to judge presided over the assembly. Symmachus triumphant, purged himself by oath of the accusations that had been brought against him; and the council placed in the rank of the apostolic decrees a writing published by Ennodius, deacon of the Church of Pavia, wherein it was said that an individual became impeccable[1] on being called to fill the chair of Saint

[1] The doctrine of Papal infallibility is not impeccability; the Pope is held infallible in matters affecting faith and morals only.—(Translator.)

Peter, and that God only called to that dignity such as should be saints. This strange, and, till then, unknown dogma, appears to be an invention of the vanquished, to enable them to resist an all-powerful foreign master.

Thus the presence of a conqueror, who was an Arian and a barbarian, added strength to the Church of Rome. Can we, then, be astonished at the problem which the life of Theodoric seems to offer; who, having become Roman in his manners and his laws, relapsed into barbarism in his old age, and stained by his cruelties the latter years of a glorious career? The cause is found in the power already possessed by the Church of Rome. Ever impatient of the masters of the hour, it regretted the Greek empire as much as it had desired the barbarians. Hence the conspiracy, real or pretended, of Symmachus and of Boëce, of those learned Romans whom the barbarian king had taken for his ministers and confidants, and to whom is, perhaps, due all the glory and moderation of his reign.

At this period, the Emperor of Byzantium was furiously persecuting the Arians in his dominions; it was a token of alliance which he gave to subjugated Italy. Religious zeal and a common hatred of the Arians might possibly once more bring together the two portions of the empire, and cement their union. Theodoric perceived the danger, and armed himself with cruelty, in order to prevent it. He endeavoured, at first, to force the Emperor of Constantinople to cease his persecution of the Arians, which was, in fact, the beginning of a war against himself; and by a haughty policy he entrusted this embassy to the Bishop of

Rome, the Pope John I. It was a triumph for the Roman pontificate and a sentence of death for the Pope. All Constantinople came out to receive him; the Greek emperor fell at his feet, as of a man who could give him back Italy. Soon afterwards, at the feast of Easter, the Pope placed the imperial crown on his head, and then, not having succeeded in his mission, as may be supposed, he set out for Ravenna, where the offended Theodoric put him to death, as guilty of treason; but in the estimation of Italy, throughout its length and breadth, he was a martyr. It is, nevertheless, probable, that the Greeks and Italians, though highly exasperated at his death, would not have dared to make a move during the lifetime of Theodoric. But his death left the throne of Italy to his grandson Athalaric, a child of ten years of age, under the guardianship of his daughter Amalassonte; while Spain, that had also been conquered by Theodoric and governed by his lieutenants, passed into the hands of another of his grandsons. A weak regency was favourable to the power of the Church of Rome. One of the last acts of Theodoric had been to choose, by his will alone, a successor to the Pope John. Felix, who had been thus nominated, continued to extend the privileges of his Church. On the occasion of some proceedings having been enforced against some priests, either for offences or for debt, he obtained from Athalaric a rescript which ordered that all demands upon, and complaints against, a clerk of the Church of Rome, should be brought before the Pope; and condemned all who should refuse to recognise him as arbitrator, to pay a fine of ten sols of gold for the benefit of the poor, and

forbade them, moreover, to be allowed to plead their cause before the civil tribunals. The King retained no power over the episcopal elections, but that of a casting vote, and in that case, there were to be paid into the treasury three thousand gold crowns, if the election were that of a Pope, and two thousand if of a metropolitan.

Thus the powerful monarchy of the Goths was weakened by the privileges it granted to the Church. It is plainly to be seen in their legislation, which became thoroughly monkish. At the same time, the warlike energy of the conquerors seemed to waste itself in those vain studies that were then followed. It happened to this people as it has happened over and over again among Tartar conquerors of China. Having adopted the manners and the arts of the vanquished, they copied, too, their faults and their vices, and thus became only fit to be subjugated in their turn. Meantime the Emperors of Byzantium, ever sensible of this degeneration, and of the fearful barbarism of their conquerors, sent embassies of congratulation to every new pope, and watched for the moment when they might again take possession of Italy by force of arms. A singular revolution was needed to accomplish this—that each of the two nations should, as it were, play the part of the other. Athalaric being dead, his throne was filled by a nephew of Theodoric, a prince of a barbaric race; but wholly given to letters and the sciences, having, moreover, the vices common to a vulgar and cruel mind.

At the head of the armies of the empire, there appeared, on the contrary, a man of heroic proportions;

reminding us, in his person, of the virtues of the ancient Roman commanders; generous, intrepid, adored by his soldiers, and disinterested enough not to care to keep for himself the kingdoms he conquered. Belisarius, having raised the throne of Byzantium to the level of its own glory, drove the Vandals out of Africa, seized on Sicily, and prepared to dethrone the degenerate Goth (become a Greek sophist), who then reigned in Italy. If we contemplate the condition of the Church of Rome during this mutation of empires, we shall see the genius of the Popes ever treating and struggling to free themselves from a present master, at the risk of finding an older, or enduring a new one. The Pontiff Agapetus, being sent by the cowardly Theodat to avert a war, pawned the sacred vessels; but as soon as he reached the East, he caused the Patriarch of Byzantium to be deposed by his influence. Meantime Belisarius passed over into Italy, took possession of Naples, Cumea and Rome. An anecdote gives us an idea by what holy souvenirs the Roman pontificate was then shielded. Belisarius having made himself master of Rome, was soon after besieged by a numerous army of Goths, and prepared to repair a breach in that part of the walls that formed the basilica of Saint Peter. The Romans dissuaded him, saying there was nothing to be feared from that quarter, for that Saint Peter would defend it; and, in fact, the Goths, whether it were superstition, or whether it were negligence, did not profit by that advantage, and Zozimus, a pagan writer, relates the fact as marvellous.

This credulity, then shared by all parties, rendered the Bishop of Rome formidable to whomsoever should

rule Italy; as was soon proved. Silverius being elected Pope, was accused to Belisarius of corresponding secretly with the barbarians and seeking to deliver the city to them. Belisarius having sent for him to his palace, caused him to be clad in a monk's habit, and ordered him to choose his successor. He named Vigilius, who was a protegé of the Empress Theodora. The very first care of Vigilius was to transport Silverius to the desert island of Palmaria, in charge of two of his satellites, to whom he gave the name of defenders of the Holy Church. Having been thus raised to the see of Saint Peter, Vigilius none the less resisted the Emperor Justinian, and secretly invoked the help of new barbarians against the Greeks, once more become masters of Italy. 'As we know,' wrote he to Aurelian, Bishop of Arles, 'that King Childebert has a great veneration for the Holy See, pray him to help the Church in its peril.' [1]

The Court of Byzantium, uneasy at the power of the Bishop of Rome in the then disturbed state of Italy, invited him to the Eastern capital, and threw him into prison, where he lay for seven years, while Italy was contended for by Greeks and Goths, and a new conqueror of a barbaric race, Totilia, took Rome, and appeared prepared to emulate the genius and the fortune of Theodoric.

But the Empire of Byzantium had still one great captain, and, strange to say, he was found among those men degraded from their sex, which form the disgraceful retinue of Eastern despotism. Totilia perished in an encounter with the old eunuch Narses; another chief

[1] D. Bouquet.

succeeded him, and assembling the remains of the Gothic army, encamped at the foot of Vesuvius; he too, was killed, with his bravest soldiers. The Goths then acknowledged God was against them, and asked permission to lay down their arms and retire to their own lands as subjects of the empire.

Thus fell the empire of the Goths in Italy; but in order to conquer them, Narses had assembled under his banner the Huns, the Gepidæ, and the Lombards—savage peoples who had quitted Scandinavia a century before—and advancing gradually, had spread from the banks of the Danube to those of the Tiber. Thus Rome shook off the feeble yoke of Byzantium only to fall once more under that of the barbarians.

FIFTH PERIOD.

THE PONTIFICAL POWER, FROM THE VICTORY OF NARSES TO THE EXPULSION OF THE LOMBARDS.

DURING those great revolutions which changed not only sovereigns but the races of men in Italy, through all the vicissitudes of that holy city of Rome, which was pillaged oftener than a frontier town, the clergy alone increased their power. During the sieges of Rome by Totilia, a deacon of the Roman Church had fed the people out of the riches he had amassed in repeated embassies to the Court of Byzantium. After the victory of Narses, the return of the Greeks, the almost entire conquest of the Goths, and the settlement of the new barbarians under the name of allies, the smothered hatred of Rome against Byzantium, of Italy against the East, revived. Narses, who had fixed his residence at Rome, with the title of Duke of Italy, did his best to conciliate the clergy. He despoiled the Arian and vanquished Goths of their churches, and of the property belonging to them, in order to enrich the Catholics; but they, nevertheless, detested the Greeks, as being new masters.

In 567 the senators and leading men of Rome wrote to the Emperor Justin, complaining of the severity of Narses, and declaring they were more miserable than

under the rule of the Goths. The accusation was grave enough to induce Narses, who in his advanced age still retained his youthful activity, to set out for Byzantium, in order to exculpate himself. But the Pope, John III., hastened after him, and brought him back to Rome, taking on himself the office of mediator between the dissatisfied people and the aged general, who very soon afterwards died.

After the death of Narses, it would appear as if the Greek emperor prematurely despaired of maintaining his power in Rome. The new governor who came from Constantinople, took up his residence at Ravenna, and assumed for the first time the Greek title of exarch; and a lieutenant, with the title of Duke, was appointed at Rome. But a storm, which had been long threatening, was ready to burst over Italy. Those barbarians who had been enrolled by Narses, and who, after the war, had returned to their own countries or their wandering tribes, had aroused among them a longing for that Italy, which after so many ills and such repeated pillage, was still, after Byzantium,[1] the richest country in Europe.

The Lombards, having followed the banks of the Danube, had pitched their camp in Upper Pannonia, whence Theodoric had set out for conquest.

In the month of April, 568, their chief, Alboin, began his march to Italy, with all his nation, recruited by some other barbarian tribes. He entered Venetia, took possession of Aquilea and Mantua, divided the lands among his Lombards, and founded a new mon-

[1] This name is applied by the author to Constantinople and to the Byzantine Empire indifferently.—(Translator.)

archy in those provinces, which thenceforth bore the name of Lombardy. The Greek emperor made but feeble efforts to stem this terrible invasion. Rome, besieged by the Lombards, elected a new pope, without consulting the Emperor. There were not even any imperial officers in the city. The new pope, Benedict I., wrote to the Court of Byzantium : 'If God does not move the Emperor to send us a captain for our soldiers and a duke, we are utterly forsaken. We have no garrison in Rome, and the Exarch of Ravenna has written to us that he can give us no assistance, not having sufficient troops to guard his own neighbourhood.'

The Emperor of the East could devise nothing better than to pay the Franks to attack the Lombards ; or, in other words, to summon new invaders to assist in the dismemberment of Italy. He sent to this end fifty thousand sols of gold to Childebert, King of Austrasia, who willingly took up arms, crossed the Alps, ravaged the country, carried off the flocks and herds, and without giving a thought to the Greek emperor, sold a peace to the Lombards. Thus Italy, still retaining a portion of the Gothic nations whose yoke she had shaken off, was now contended for by the Greek sovereignty, installed at Ravenna, and the Lombards, who held the country from Turin to the Po.

At this period of national calamity, the see of Rome was filled by a man who was superior to the age he lived in, and who must be ranked amongst the boldest founders of the pontifical supremacy.

Gregory, who earned the surname of Great, and who was, five hundred years later, the chosen model of Gregory VII., was born at Rome, of a rich senatorial

family. He had even been educated with a view of filling the præfecture, the only dignity which retained its name at Rome under the authority of the dukes deputed by Constantinople. He early quitted the world for a religious life. His great wealth enabled him to found monasteries in Sicily, and in his own country. He was most zealous for the preaching of the gospel. It is related that, seeing some young slaves of great beauty exposed for sale in Rome, he shed tears on hearing that they came from Britain, a land that was still heathen. He soon afterwards prepared to go thither as a missionary, but was withheld by the people of Rome, who loved him for his charities.

On the death of Pelagius II., in 590, the clergy and people chose him as pope; he sought to evade the honour, and wrote to the Emperor, to beg him not to ratify his election; but he finally gave way, and was consecrated by order of the Emperor Maurice.

Once raised to the see he had so humbly refused, Gregory was not slow to oppose the Emperor of the East; but timidly and respectfully at first. The Emperor Maurice, desirous of ameliorating one of the scourges of the empire, monastic apathy, and the weakening of the civil and military power, had forbidden, by an edict, the entrance of any magistrate or soldier into the religious orders. Gregory wrote to the Emperor, censuring this edict, as soon as he received it.

'What am I,' he says, 'who speak thus to my master? A worm of the earth. Yet can I not withhold myself from speaking, seeing that this law is opposed to God. For power is given to me from on

high, over all men, that the earthly kingdom may be the servant of the heavenly. In obedience to your orders I have sent this edict to all parts of the world, and have shown you that it is not in accordance with the law of God. I have, then, doubly fulfilled my duty. I have obeyed the Emperor, and pointed out what is due to God.'[1]

But the inability of the empire to defend Italy was soon to embolden the claims of the Church. All that now remained to the exarchate of Ravenna was Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, Sorrento, Salerno, and a few other maritime towns, with the city and province of Rome. All the rest was occupied by the new principalities and the armed bands of Lombardy. War and pillage everywhere. Gregory himself has left us a vivid picture of this state of things.

'The towns,' he says, 'are dispeopled, the fortresses destroyed, the churches burnt, the monasteries plundered, the lands are deserted, and there are none to till them, and wild beasts dwell in the places where multitudes of men did once inhabit.'

Meantime the Lombards, being firmly settled in Italy, began to be less rude and savage. They were insensibly influenced by the manners and the religion of the vanquished. The vast number of Catholic priests and bishops which Italy contained was continually engaged in opposing Arianism; and what was done for faith served the cause of liberty. The Lombard king, Otharic, foreseeing this danger, had forbidden, under severe penalties, the baptism of any Lombard child in the Catholic faith; but his wife, Theodelinda, had herself

[1] S. Greg. *Opera.*

embraced that religion, and a great many of his subjects had followed her example.

From that time the Church of Rome hoped to do by persuasion what the Byzantine empire could not accomplish by arms. Heedless of the jealousy of the Exarch of Ravenna, the Pope began to negotiate on his own account, and to make truces and alliances with the Lombard princes settled at Spoleto and Beneventum; but the atrocious perfidy of these barbarians often outwitted the pontiff. Arnulph, Duke of Spoleto, knowing that Rome had no garrison, pillaged the country round. The queen, Theodelinda, being left a widow by the death of Otharic, was compelled to take a husband from among the Lombard chiefs, and chose Agilulph, Duke of Milan, who re-commenced the war, and besieged Rome.

Gregory kept up the spirits of the inhabitants: but while he was expounding a chapter of Ezekiel, he stopped short, to give vent to his grief for his country's misfortunes:

'The sword,' he says, 'is against us everywhere. Some of our fellow-citizens come in with their hands lopped off, telling us that others have been taken into slavery, and others slain. I cannot expound the prophet to you: my soul is weighed down with heaviness.'[1]

The city was defended bravely, and the Pope succeeded in raising the siege. And it is obvious, that from that time the popes sought to secure for themselves and for Rome, a position independent of the Greek empire.

[1] S. Greg. *Op.* lib. ii. ep. 7.

Maurice, ill-pleased, treated Gregory in his letter as a simpleton, and reproached him with allowing himself to be deceived by the promises of the barbarians; but, on the other side, we have in the letters of the Pope to a bishop bitter complaints against the exarch and the Greek government. 'His ill-will to us,' he says, 'is more dangerous than the arms of the Lombards. The enemies who kill us outright seem, in our eyes, less cruel than those ministers of the government who kill us with grief at their injustice, and robbery, and fraud. What an overwhelming load it is, to be burdened at one and the same time with the care of the bishops and clergy, the monasteries and the people, to watch against the attacks of the enemy, and guard against the wrong and robbery of our governors.'[1]

The glorious life of this Pope is figured in these words; but we see in them also the natural opposition between Rome and Byzantium. This rivalry, which had subsisted through all the misfortunes of Italy, was reanimated by a claim put forward by the Patriarch of Constantinople, John, surnamed the Faster, on account of his austerities, who arrogated to himself, with the consent of the emperor Maurice, the title of Bishop Universal. We shall see with what vehemence Gregory inveighed against this usurpation; much less in the name of the Roman primacy than in that of sacerdotal equality. And, strange to say, the arguments he uses, the vehement expressions that escape him, are precisely those adopted by the reformation nine hundred years later, to deny and combat the pope's supremacy.

'The days of Antichrist are come,' exclaims Gregory;

[1] S. Greg. *Op.* lib. ii. hom. 10.

'this proud bishop is like Lucifer, who, disdaining the happy society of the angels, desired to attain a height of solitary greatness, saying, "I will fix my throne above the stars; I shall be like unto the Most High."' He addresses Maurice in language no less forcible: 'The care of the whole Church was given to Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and yet he did not style himself Apostle Universal; and a mere holy man, a priest like I am, wants to be called Universal Bishop! *O tempore! O mores!* All things in Europe have fallen under the power of the barbarians. The cities are ruined, the country depopulated, the lands have none to till them, and yet the priests, who should be cast down in tears, with their faces to the earth, seek surnames of vanity, and take pride in new and worldly titles.'[1]

It is obvious that the feeble policy of the Court of Byzantium thought by favouring this pretension, to balance the power exercised by the Bishop of Rome in Italy. But the Pope none the less continued to treat on his own account with the Lombards, and to offer himself as mediator between them and the Exarch of Ravenna.

In order to obtain, now a few months' truce, now the deliverance of a few captives, now the right to consecrate a bishop in some town occupied by the Lombards, he sought the assistance of the queen, Theodelinda, sending her presents and amulets for her children.

She had a son, whom she had baptized in the Catholic faith. Gregory, in writing to her says: 'We send to our very excellent son of the King Adalanade, some

[1] S. Greg. *Op.* lib. v. ep. 21.

holy preservatives, a cross made of the wood of our Saviour's Cross, and a lesson of the holy gospel enclosed in a casket of sandal-wood. I send too, to his sister, my daughter, three rings, two of hyacinth, and the other set with a brilliant. I beg you to give them these tokens, so that our affection may be commended to them by your excellency.

'We entreat you to offer our thanks to the King, your husband, our very excellent son, for the peace that he has made, and to move his soul according to your custom, to keep this peace in time to come.'

While Gregory, by a mixture of policy and entreaty, thus preserved the Roman territory from invasion by the Lombards, he was making preparations for carrying his religion into new lands. He had bought several of the slaves brought from Britain, and had them carefully instructed in the Roman faith and tongue, and sent them to preach the gospel in their own country in company with some Italian priests, and under the guidance of Saint Augustine.

With the aid of Bertha, wife of the King of Kent, this mission effected the conversion of great numbers of the Saxon idolaters, who had established themselves in the island, to the destruction of Roman civilisation.

The directions given by Gregory to the missionaries were the same as were followed by the Jesuits in China, in the seventeenth century. We see the same compliance with the habits and customs of the people who are to be converted, the same policy, more intent on attracting converts by the exterior forms of worship than on cultivating their intelligence.

Gregory's missionaries to Britain complained to him in their letters of the people's persistence in some idolatrous ceremonies. 'Tolerate these customs,' wrote Gregory to them, 'and on the feast of some blessed martyr allow them to set up bowers of the branches of trees around their temples, let them celebrate their religious feasts there; let them not sacrifice victims to the devil, but allow them to kill them, to eat with thanksgiving to God; for we must leave them some material enjoyments, in order that they may be the more disposed for those of the soul.'

Elsewhere, Gregory, writing to a bishop of Sardinia, where the Roman Church had large possessions, tells him to 'force the inhabitants of its domains to be converted by continually increasing their rent till they should be Christians. The faith is seldom taught by force,' says he, 'but the children of those who have embraced it for their temporal advantage will be baptized in innocence, and be better Christians than their fathers.'[1]

Gregory divided Britain into bishoprics, just as ancient Rome established pro-consulates in the kingdoms she conquered. Nothing, in fact, could be more favourable to the authority of the Church of Rome than this preaching of Christianity to nations still uncivilised.

By its diligence, the Church of Rome daily enlarged her borders, while that of Constantinople was engaged in theological bickerings; Gregory troubled himself but little about these disputes: his attention was wholly directed to the maintenance of the hierarchy and the

[1] S. Greg. op. Ep. ad Episc. Sardiniæ.

enforcement of discipline. The Church of Rome grew daily less learned. The influx of so many barbarous peoples, a succession of miseries and invasions, had plunged Italy into ignorance. At Rome scarcely any one could be found who understood Greek. When Gregory was consulted by the Patriarch of Alexandria in regard to a new doctrine called the heresy of the Agnoïtes, Gregory replied, 'I warn you that we have here no good interpreters—none who are capable of rendering the sense; they can only translate word for word, and we have great difficulty in understanding what they mean.'

Gregory did not think learning was required to rule the barbarians of the West: it would even appear as though, animated by religious zeal, he really detested, as being tainted with paganism, the slender remains of the ancient Greek and Roman civilisation that were left. Some learned men of the seventeenth century have accused him of having caused the manuscripts of Livy and many Latin poets to be burnt. This has not been proved; but we see in one of his letters that he sharply reprimanded Didier, Archbishop of Vienne, for having permitted the teaching of grammar in his dioceses. 'The same lips,' he says, 'may not pronounce the names of Jupiter and Christ.'[1]

Gregory had but one thought, but one design: to extend the knowledge of Christianity and the power of Rome. When the Emperor Maurice was assassinated, and replaced by Phocas, he only saw in this event an opportunity of obtaining from a tyrant what he had been refused by the legitimate prince; and, with thanks

[1] Epist. ad Desiderium, vol. ii., p. 1139.

to that God who governs courts and transfers empires, he offers his felicitations to Phocas, a murderer and usurper. In the midst of these priestly flatteries, we see, however, some remains of independence. 'Under thy pious dominion,' writes Gregory to Phocas, 'let liberty be restored to all; the difference between the kings of nations and the emperors of the republic is, that the kings of nations rule over slaves—the emperors over men that are free.' [1]

Phocas, during the first month of his possession of an empire acquired by crime, did, in fact, grant some favours to the provinces of Italy.

When Gregory died, he left Italy divided between the Lombards and the Greek empire, which purchased peace of them by truces that were renewed year by year. All the bishops of the cities of Italy that still owned submission to the empire, acknowledged the power of the Pope. The Catholic bishops of the Lombard cities were subject to the Patriarch of Aquilea, and this schism alone retained Rome in the party of the empire. Gregory's memory was cherished in Rome, and his name and writings were afterwards cited by Gregory VII., who carried on the work he had begun. Ever busy in negotiations with the emperors, the bishops, the Lombards, and with foreign princes, he governed at the same time the property of the Church, without neglecting the smallest details. He writes to a sub-deacon, manager of the patrimony of the Church in Sicily: 'You have sent me a horse that is good for nothing, and some asses that are good enough. I can make no use of the horse, because he

[1] S. Greg. Ep., lib. xiii.; Ep. xxxi., vol. ii., p. 1238.

is worthless; nor of the asses, because they are asses.'[1] He always had at Rome vast granaries full of corn, and distributed their contents gratis to the people in time of famine. The Romans were so accustomed to this liberality that they took a dislike to his successor, Sabinian, because he laid a tax of thirteen sols on every measure of corn. Rome, in spite of so many changes, was still the home of that idle and hungry population who had created the empire. The Christian ceremonies had replaced for them the games of the circus, but they belonged to a new master, who fed them, and that master was the Church!

Sabinian did not live long: they accused him of suppressing the papers of his predecessor, out of jealousy, and declared that to punish him Gregory had appeared to him in a dream, and had inflicted a mortal wound on his head.

He was succeeded by Boniface IV., who, like himself, had been the apostolic nuncio at Constantinople. He obtained from Phocas what Gregory had solicited. The Emperor issued a decree forbidding the Patriarch of Constantinople to take the title of Œcumenic, and proclaiming the exclusive pre-eminence of the Roman Pontiff.[2] Thus grew the Church of Rome, benefiting by tyrants and barbarians alike. This good understanding lasted during the whole reign of Phocas, who was too much detested at Constantinople not to cede a great deal to Rome.[3]

[1] Pagi, vol. i., p. 380.

[2] Epist. ad Petrum.

[3] The famous pantheon, formerly dedicated by Agrippa, still remained adorned with all the statues of the gods. Phocas gave it to Boniface IV., who consecrated it under the name of Saint Mary.

Extension of the Church by its Missions.—Decrease of the Greek Church by the Progress of Mahometanism.

Meantime the Church of Rome continued to send its legates all over the West, and to extend its missions into the most barbarous parts of Britain and Germany, and this was doubtless one of the causes of the greatness of this Church. Stationed in the centre of Italy, it had the north of Europe to convert, and was daily adding to the number of its faithful, while the Eastern Church, shut in by the Persian empire, whose kings were enemies to the Christian faith, was soon to experience a check from a new power, armed with proselytism more ardent than its own, and with a faith more congenial to the manners and the climate of Asia. No one event has more conduced to the independence and power of the Roman pontificate; and, in the order of those secondary causes which affect the world at large, the victories of Mahomet added to the spiritual dominion of the Bishop of Rome as much as they took from the power of the Greek Church.

When, in the seventh century, Mahomet appeared in Arabia with his Jewish theism, his code of morals—partly Christian, partly sensual—preaching and converting, sword in hand, Christianity died out in the East. The lieutenants, or the successors of the Prophet, invaded Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia Minor, then inhabited by Christians. Those Greek Churches so proud of their ancient traditions fell under the yoke of the barbarians. In many places the succession of the bishops was interrupted, and the people either exterminated or carried into slavery. That

proselytising energy, that force of action which Latin Christianity exercised over the barbarous nations who inhabited or invaded the West, was exercised over Greek Christianity by the sword of the Mahometans.

Under Heraclius, the successor of Phocas, the Greek empire, threatened by the rapid advances of the Mussulmans, and obliged, as one may say, to fight incessantly for its very existence, had no strength to spare to keep Rome in obedience. On the other hand, the knowledge that the East was invaded by the armies of the false Prophet, necessarily grouped all the West around the chair of the first Apostle. Face to face with that martial pontificate which grew daily more mighty in Asia, the peoples of the West had need likewise of a recognised supreme authority in the person of the pontiff; the Papacy took something of the character of the caliphat, and if Providence had then led to the see of Saint Peter some man with political genius and warlike tastes, perhaps the resemblance would have been more complete, and the Popes, uniting the conqueror with the pontiff, would have founded a great sovereignty in Europe; but, not being equal to this, they were obliged, while claiming the most unlimited spiritual power, always to seek some exterior support—some foreign defenders to arm in their cause. It was this material weakness which kept them under the yoke of the Greek empire longer than they desired, and only enabled them to throw it off through the invasion of Charles Martel.

The heresy of the Monothelites—that is to say, the opinion that Jesus Christ, though two-fold in his nature, had but one will—was not the true cause that

divided the emperors and the popes in the seventh century. The Pope Honorius had himself adopted this doctrine as theological; but a quarrel was necessary between Rome and Byzantium, and the decision of Honorius was anathematised by his successors. On the other hand, the Emperor of Constantinople dictated a Monotheletic formula, which he desired to impose on the Churches of Italy more as an act of obedience than an act of faith. Many popes who succeeded each other at short intervals rejected this injunction, and Martin I. condemned it at the Council of Lateran, notwithstanding the efforts of the Exarch of Ravenna, who came thither for the purpose of arresting him, but who dared not carry out his intention when he saw the zeal of the people and of the soldiery of Rome. The Pope solemnly excommunicated the Exarch, and sent him away. Another and bolder Exarch came to Rome, complaining that the Pope had collected stores of arms in his palace. Martin, sick and aged, had himself carried in his bed to the basilica of the Lateran, and there received the Exarch, followed by his troops. The Greek governor read out the order which directed the clergy to elect a new pope; and, in spite of the indignation and murmurs of the priests, the Exarch caused the aged Pope to be seized by his soldiers and carried to Miseno, where he embarked with him for Constantinople.

Martin was accused of having conspired to give up Sicily to the Saracens. His letters prove that at least he had secret treaties of alliance with the Frank kings, Clovis II. and Childebert I. Monothelism, whether defended or condemned, was but a pretext in all this.

What the Romans wanted, was to shake off the yoke of the Byzantines. However, the cruel treatment of the Pope, who was led through the streets of Constantinople with an iron collar round his neck, excited pity for him; the Patriarch of Constantinople himself expressed his horror at the sight, and the Church of Rome, which had obeyed by electing a new pope, was more fixed than ever in its dissent and its hatred of the Greek Empire. One would almost say that its princes, despairing of keeping Italy themselves, looked on it only as a prey to be rifled in all haste before it escaped.

The Emperor Constantius having come to Rome in 663, after a disastrous expedition against the Lombards, was present at a mass celebrated by the Pope, and afterwards carried off all the chief ornaments of the city, and even the copper sheeting that covered the churches.

However, the emperors, still masters of Ravenna and Naples, retained great power in Rome, even after this disgraceful proceeding. Their policy was directed to endeavouring to lessen the dependence of the other Churches on it. The Archbishop of Ravenna obtained a rescript by which he was exempted from all jurisdiction, even that of the Patriarch of old Rome. Another decree, dated twelve years later, ordered that when the Archbishop of Ravenna should go to Rome to be consecrated, he should not be kept there more than eight days.

The ferocity of the Lombards, and the extortion they practised, for a long while kept the Romans under the yoke of the empire. The emperors, on their side,

and in order to lessen the independence of the Church, often raised to the see of Rome Greeks, whom they thought would be more zealous for their cause. But a priest, and especially a pope, has no country but the Church. The succession in the Byzantine empire was so uncertain, the revolutions of the palace so frequent, that there was no lasting fidelity. The Pope Constantine—a born Greek, and a creature of the Emperor Justinian II., became the enemy of Phillipicus, the murderer of Justinian, the usurper of his throne, and, moreover, a Monothelite, for these sophistical heresies entered into everything, and served as instruments to ambition as well as to independence.

Meantime the Church of Rome happily continued her missions in the kingdoms of the North; while the empire was losing Sicily to the Saracen arms, she was gaining new nations in Germany; her neophytes were already missionaries, and in their simple faith, they looked to Rome, from which they had received the gospel, and to Rome only. Under Gregory II., in 720, Winfred, a British monk, came to Rome to receive instructions and relics for the conversion of the idolatrous inhabitants of Thuringia. His name, of barbaric origin, was changed to Boniface. He went to preach to the uncivilised peoples who dwelt on the eastern banks of the Rhine, the truths of the gospel and the supremacy of the Pontiff of Rome. Other Roman priests founded Christian Churches in Bavaria.

The powerful mayor of the palace, Charles Martel, who then ruled the kingdom of the Franks, protected the Roman missionaries. Soon the glory he acquired in the West, his great victory over the Saracens, to whom the

feeble Byzantine Empire had left Europe a prey, pointed him out to the Roman Church as the liberator it had so long awaited. Rome, with that divine right it claimed by general consent, was subjected both to the vexations of the Greek Empire, and to the extortions of the Lombards, and had no real strength. Charles Martel, reduced to inaction while upholding the throne of the slothful descendants of Clovis, possessed rather the power than the right of reigning. A treaty seemed natural between these two powers, who could each give what the other wanted. As soon as the Church of Rome saw it might hope for the succour of Charles Martel, all its efforts were directed to shaking off the yoke of the Greek Empire it had so long borne with impatience. The quarrel about images furnished the pretext and the opportunity, which some other heresy would have been found to serve if that had not offered.

Leo, a soldier of fortune, who was seated on the throne of Constantinople, having strengthened himself by his victories over the Saracens, made an endeavour to bring the distant provinces into closer obedience. He subjected Calabria and Sicily to a capitation tax, and insisted on imposing the same on Italy, and Italy would, perhaps, have submitted; but Leo raised a theological question at the same time. The use of images, impossible or disdained in the early days of faith, and in presence of polytheism, had insensibly grown into a custom in the Church. But that veneration for insensible objects, which would have shocked the enthusiasm of the first disciples of the gospel, excited still more violent feelings among the Jews and Mahometans. It was, no doubt, under the influence of these ideas, then common

in Asia, that Leo, the Isaurian, suddenly proclaimed himself the uncompromising proscriber of images; but we cannot doubt that with this proscription was linked the intention of oppressing and humbling Rome. The text of the Six Councils, displayed in the Lateran, had been a kind of declaration of independence. In prohibiting entirely the use of all images, he thought to strike a decisive blow at the Roman Church: but such was the ascendant of that Church, that the Patriarch of Constantinople declared himself in favour of the use of images, and had recourse to the Pope against the Emperor. Gregory paid no respect to Leo's decrees, and opposed both the imposition of the new tax, and the abolition of images: clearly it was the cause of all Italy.[1]

It was reported that the Emperor of Constantinople had endeavoured to procure the assassination of Gregory II., at the altar;[2] whether the accusation were true or false, it raised the indignation of the Romans. The Exarch of Ravenna ordered his troops to march on Rome; the inhabitants of Tuscany and Spoleto opposed their passage, and the towns of Italy in the neighbourhood of Ravenna rose against the Exarch, who was excommunicated by the Pope. Rome took up arms; the governor of the city was obliged to fly, and the Exarch was slain in Ravenna. Such a general rising would not have broken out if Gregory had not made use of the alliance and help of the Lombards. The Roman Church thought it had tamed these northern conquerors; it had detached them by degrees from the Arian belief,

[1] Pagi, vol. i., p. 525.
[2] Brev. Gest. Pontif. Rom., vol. i., p. 525, Pagi.

whose reception they had at first joined with some remains of gross idolatry: it had recently obtained from their King, that the Archbishops of Aquilea should submit to the Roman Church, and receive the pallium from it. In its confidence it did not hesitate to ally itself with them against the Greek Empire. Still the Pontiff made a show of maintaining a kind of nominal obedience to the Emperor. Some of the leaders of the insurrection proposed the election of an Emperor of the West; but the Pontiff moderated their ardour, under the pretext of awaiting the conversion of the prince, but in reality, not to set up a present and popular master over himself.

The Lombards, however, did not limit themselves to supporting the independence of the Pope; they seized on Ravenna, Clasa, Imola, Cæsarea, and Sutri in the duchy of Rome. Leo then tried to mollify the Pontiff by proposing the assembly of a Council General. Gregory answered with disdain:

'Thou art,' he wrote, 'the enemy and the persecutor of the holy images. Be silent thou, and the world will be at peace. When the Churches of God were in the enjoyment of perfect peace, thou hast stirred up wars, and enmities, and scandals; keep quiet thyself and there will be no need of synods. Write unto all lands that thou hast sinned against the Patriarch of Constantinople, and against the Pope of Rome, Gregory, in regard to the images, and we, who have received from God power to bind and to loose, in heaven and on earth, will make peace with thee and pardon thy fault.'

We should be wrong, however, to conclude that this quarrel was wholly a religious one. Gregory adds:

'Thou canst not intimidate us by saying, I will send to Rome and break the image of Saint Peter to pieces, I will carry off thence Gregory loaded with irons as formerly Constantius carried away Martin. Know that the Popes are the mediators and arbiters of peace between the East and the West.'[1] Elsewhere he writes to him, 'Thou art a tyrant, that pursuest and persecutest us with a military and carnal force: we, naked and defenceless, and possessed of no earthly army, invoke the Prince of the Armies of Heaven, Christ, praying Him to send to thee a devil, and as the apostle says, deliver thee unto Satan, to the destruction of thy body and thy soul's salvation.'

Leo then attempted to reduce Italy by arms. A fleet, under the command of the eunuch Eutychius, besieged and took Ravenna, and the other towns of the Pentapolis. The Greeks even succeeded in making a treaty with the Lombards, and the united armies of the two peoples laid siege to Rome. Gregory II. gave in, and acknowledged the authority of the Exarch Eutychius; peace was made on that condition, and only the head of one insurgent leader was sent to Constantinople. Thus was suppressed the first great attempt of the Roman Pontiff for the liberty of Italy. But the example had been set, and as the Greeks could not subjugate Rome without the help of the Lombards, they could not keep it much longer. Notwithstanding, on the death of Gregory II., his successor, elected by the votes of the people, asked the approbation of the Exarch of Ravenna, according to custom; but the quarrel of the images still went on, and was sufficient to serve the

[1] Pagi, vol. i., p. 529.

purpose of a people weary of the yoke of the empire. Gregory III. called a council in Rome, which anathematised all who should oppose the use of images. But hardly had the Bishop of Rome thrown off the yoke of Byzantium, by favour of this theological discussion, than he found himself embarrassed by the ambition of the Lombards. In vain did he raise dissensions among their chiefs; their King Luitprand laid siege to Rome, under the pretext that the Pope favoured the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto. The Church of Rome, in revolt against the empire, and menaced by the Lombards, had recourse to Charles Martel, and despatched an embassy to France, bearing rich presents to the Mayor of the Palace, and also the chains of Saint Peter, and the keys of his tomb. The chroniclers speak moreover of a decree of the Roman Senate, conferring on Charles Martel the title of Patrice; but this document does not exist; we do not even know what this senate was, which appears in the histories of these times, as if it were a relic of ancient Rome. The Church alone seems to have inherited the power the empire had lost. It is the Pope who makes war and peace, and who treats with the emperors and the barbarians. Charles Martel received the embassy of the Pontiff with great triumph, and replied by an embassy and rich presents. Had he been a younger man, he would have done what his children afterwards did; but he was growing old, and his name alone sufficed to protect the Roman Church, and to deliver it, for a time, from the Lombards. Luitprand retired, satisfied with having taken from the duchy of Rome, the towns of Horta, Polymarti, Ameria, and Bléda.

Strong in the foreign protection that was assured to the Church, Zachary, the successor of Gregory, made a new treaty with the Lombards, and by it recovered the towns that had been conquered, and also considerable possessions at Narni, and in the march of Ancona.

Meanwhile the slender power of the Greek Emperors, at Ravenna, grew daily less and less. Zachary was invoked as a protector by the inhabitants of that city, and he undertook an embassy in person to the Lombard King in Pavia, to obtain the restitution of some towns belonging to the exarchate. This confidence is sufficiently explained by the progress pontifical power had made; the popes alone could in these ages of barbarism and violence thus interpose between nations; thus go and reproach a kingly enemy with perfidy, in his own palace. Religious inviolability created for them a public right which none other could claim.

A natural instinct, moreover, led them to strengthen this right by allying themselves with the strongest; the attention of the Roman Church was steadily fixed on the house of Charles Martel.

Pepin was grateful to Pope Zachary for keeping his brother Carloman at Rome, and for leading his inclination to the religious life. Freed from a rival in his own family, Pepin, the most powerful of the Frank nobles, had then only to depose the weak descendant of Clovis, and take the title of king himself. His ambition powerfully seconded that of Rome. The Frank nobles longed to be free from the oath that bound them to Childeric. They resolved to consult the Pope; he replied that it was just that he who had the power of king should have the title also. In virtue of this de-

cision, Pepin cut off the long locks of the last of the line of Clovis, and shut him up in a cloister; and the monks wrote down that the Pope Zachary had, in the name of the Apostle Peter, deposed the king Childeric.

While the Church thus seemed to set the line of her protector on the throne, the power of the Greek emperors disappeared in Italy.

In 752, the Lombards took Ravenna by assault, and all the other towns of the exarchate. Soon afterwards, their King Astulphe advanced towards Rome and endeavoured to levy a poll-tax of one sol of gold per head on the Romans. The Emperor of Constantinople, too weak to despatch a fleet to Italy, hoped that the peril of the Pope, and of the Roman Church, would bring them back to his cause. He charged the former then, in his letters, to treat with the Lombard King; but after vain endeavours, the Pope, Stephen II., quitted Italy in disguise, crossed the Alps, and arrived, with a few priests, in France. It was then that, in the Church of Saint Denis, he solemnly crowned Pepin and his two sons, and forbade the French princes, under pain of excommunication, to choose their kings from any other race. Pepin, in return, gave him the province of Ravenna, which he promised to go and deliver out of the hands of the Lombards. He soon after, in fact, crossed the Alps, and laid siege to Pavia; and Stephen returned triumphant to Rome to await the effects of this victorious alliance.

The consequence of the first treaty of peace was the withdrawal of the French King, and very soon after the Lombards again desolated the Campagna of Rome. Then it was that the Pope conceived the idea of ad-

dressing to Pepin a letter, in the name of Saint Peter, and which professed to be miraculous. The French King crossed the Alps once more, and appeared under the walls of Pavia. Two ambassadors from the Greek Emperor were then at Rome claiming the Exarchate of Ravenna. The Pope embarked them for Marseilles, with one of his legates, and sent them by this round-about way to seek the French King, whose arrival in Italy he was awaiting. They came at last to the French camp, before Pavia, and claimed the Exarchate of Ravenna, as a property stolen by the Lombards. But Pepin, who was ready enough to conquer for the Pope, but not for the Greek emperor, told them they were too late, that he had given everything to Saint Peter; and this time the donation was realised. The Lombard King, closely besieged in Pavia, agreed to all demands. He gave up Ravenna and twenty-two towns and castles taken from the Greeks. The Abbot of Saint Denis was sent to take possession of the province in the presence of Astulphe's officers, then came to Rome, accompanied by the principal inhabitants of each city, and laid, on the altar of Saint Peter, the donation of the conqueror, and the keys of Ravenna, Rimini, Sinigaglia, Urbino, Narni, and other towns, the last spoils of the empire. Thus, in the eighth century, was extinguished in the West, that ancient sovereignty of the Cæsars; Christian under Constantine, and wholly Greek since Augustulus; precarious, yet entailing all the evils of absolute power, hateful to Italy, treating her with the severity of a rebel colony, and leaving her a helpless prey to the barbarians, and thus, for her, only a foreign dominion, and one invasion the more.

SIXTH PERIOD.

TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPES.

Overthrow of the Kingdom of the Lombards.—Coronation of Charlemagne.

MEANTIME, the sovereignty of Rome remained, we may say, vacant. Pepin had only the title of patrice; the pope only that of bishop; and, in some of his acts, he seems still to recognise the nominal authority of the Greek emperor. Paul I., the successor of Stephen III., had his election confirmed by Pepin, but fifteen years afterwards Adrian referred to the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, the judgment of a crime committed in the duchy of Rome. The power of the Lombards, moreover, in Italy, kept Rome in continual peril. In 767 an insignificant Duke of Nepi, near Rome, took possession of the Lateran by force, and caused his brother, who was a layman, to be named pope. This election was annulled at the end of a year. The Roman party nominated a new pope, Stephen IV., and the Roman Church now desired nothing so much as to free itself from the Lombards, as it had previously freed itself from the Greeks.

Under the influence of this wish, Stephen IV. did all he could to dissuade Charlemagne from marrying the daughter of Didier, King of the Lombards. 'What madness,' he wrote, 'for your noble nation and your glorious race, to think of staining itself by an alliance

with the perfidious and tainted nation of the Lombards, who have certainly brought us the leprosy.'[1]

Charlemagne gave no heed to this singular accusation; but he repudiated Didier's daughter after a year of marriage, and was ready to seize any pretext for attacking the Lombards. The see of Rome was then filled by one of those priests that seem destined to be the allies of conquerors. Adrian I. entered into all the views of Charles, and unceasingly encouraged his ambition. Charlemagne had deprived his brother Carloman of the crown. Carloman's widow, with her two sons, had taken refuge at the court of Didier, King of the Lombards. This monarch, who had for a long time been quarrelling with the Pope about the restitution of some towns, determined to march to Rome in order to force the Pope to crown the two fugitive French princes, that he might oppose their claim to the pretensions of Charlemagne. But Adrian, faithful to the fortune of the strongest, assembled his troops, made preparations for sustaining a siege, and threatened the Lombard King with excommunication if he set foot on the territory of Rome. While that prince was hesitating, Charlemagne, after having kept his attention occupied for some time by an embassy, prepared to cross the mountains. Adrian and all the Roman clergy laboured in his cause. Many of the Lombards forsook that of their king. The inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto were seen to come to Rome, entreating the Pope to admit them into the rank of citizens, and ready to cut their hair and beards in the fashion of the Romans. The towns of Fermo, Osimo, and Ancona submitted also. During these proceedings

[1] Op. Bauquet, ad arm. 770.

Didier, having posted troops at the issues of the mountains, took his station near Aosta, and awaited the French.

It is remarkable that the conqueror availed himself in this expedition rather of the craft and assistance of priests than of the force of arms.

After having continued a negotiation, that was managed, so it is said, under the guidance of a deacon of Ravenna, he crossed the mountains and surprised and dispersed the camp of Didier, who fled to Pavia, while his son Adelkis took refuge in Verona. These two cities were all the Lombard monarchy then possessed. Charlemagne, after having invested Pavia, hastened to Verona, where he pressed the siege vigorously. The widow and sons of Carloman were shut up there, and they fell into the power of the victor with the city. Adelkis had left it some days previously and embarked at Pisa to take service under the Greek empire. The chronicles do not tell us what Charlemagne did with his brother's widow, and two children: we nowhere find mention of any monastery to which they were sent, according to the custom of the time. This silence is an imputation on Charlemagne and the Church of Rome. As soon as he had become master of Verona, Charlemagne went to Rome, attended by a numerous escort, and surrounded by French bishops, abbots, and nobles. The magistrates of the city and the chief nobility came two days' journey to meet him. At a mile from Rome he was welcomed by the children of all nations, Britons, French, Greeks, and Germans, who were being educated there, bearing palms and olive branches. The clergy followed these, with their banners and crosses. At this sight Charlemagne

alighted, gave his horse to one of the Pope's attendants, and proceeded on foot to the basilica of Saint Peter, without the walls of Rome, at the entrance of which the Pope was awaiting him. He ascended the steps on his knees, and kissed each step. The Pope and the King then embraced and entered the church, followed by all Charles's suite, in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who joined their voices to those of the choir, as they chanted 'Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.' Before entering the city, Charlemagne took an oath not to violate the privileges of the Romans. He then visited the churches and confirmed, it is said, in the Basilica of Saint Peter, the donation of Pepin, a deed which has been continually appealed to by the popes, but the original text of which has not been handed down to us. After a sojourn of a few days, Charles quitted Rome to continue the siege of Pavia. As soon as he was master of the city, he banished the King Didier to France, appointed captains of his own nation to command the fortresses in the place, and assumed the title of King of the French and Lombards, and Patrice of the Romans. A revolt of the Saxons having obliged him to recross the Alps in haste, permitted some of the Lombard chiefs to retain possession of Benevento, Spoleto, and Friuli; but from this time, nevertheless, must be dated the establishment of a new domination in Italy. Charlemagne did really retain, with the possession of Lombardy, the sovereignty of all the territory of Ravenna. The bishop of that city once more assumed to be independent of the Church of Rome, and forbade the inhabitants of the ancient exarchate to receive any appointment from the Pope.

Charlemagne did not censure this resistance, and did not seem in any hurry to fulfil all the promises claimed by the Roman Church. Adrian entreated him to return to Rome, to put down the enemies of Saint Peter, the Church of Rome, the Roman people, and the Roman republic. 'Give really and truly,' says he, 'to him that which you have promised to the apostle of God, for your soul's salvation.'[1] Adrian then cites the fabulous donation of Constantine, and promised Charlemagne the surname of a second Constantine, if he increased the grandeur of the Church of Rome.

In 780, Charlemagne, with his two sons and all his court, paid a second visit to Rome. The pope Adrian baptized the young prince Carloman, and anointed him King of Italy. From this time it is, that the Pope appears to have been put in possession of the government of Ravenna, under the sovereignty of France. The Pope exercised a much greater power in Rome, and was responsible to the prince for all that passed in that city. Such was the wretchedness of Italy, that the sale of the natives for slaves was a general practice. Greeks and Saracens came to its coasts to buy men who were sold to them by others, or who were forced by starvation to sell themselves. When Charlemagne heard of this he gently reproved the Pope; Adrian's reply attests the power, or at least the right, which he enjoyed. 'We have,' he says, 'given orders to the Duke of Lucca to arm a number of vessels, and to take prisoners the Greeks engaged in this trade, and to burn their ships; but he has not obeyed us. But we take God to witness that we have fought a great fight in the port of

[1] Lett. Ad. 59.

our town of Centumcelle. We have burnt many ships belonging to the Greek nation, and have kept the Greeks themselves in prison. As to what those slanderers have dared to insinuate before you, taking no heed of God or their own salvation, against our priests, iniquity has lied unto itself. There is, God be praised, no stain on the Roman clergy, and your sublimity ought not to believe such things.'[1]

Charlemagne continued to add to the power and possessions of Adrian. Having subjected the duchy of Benevento, he gave the towns of Capua, Sora, and Arpi to the Pope, and added to these, several small towns of Tuscany, among others Viterbo and Soano, but reserving to the citizens the rights of a municipal government. The ambitious Adrian was not satisfied with this donation. He was ever seeking to add to the gifts conferred by the conqueror. His letters are full of reproaches on this subject. He bitterly complains at one time of the inhabitants of Ravenna, who go, without his permission, to France to demand justice. 'As,' he says, 'bishops, counts, and other subjects of the King, do not leave France for Italy without a passport from the King, so the subjects of the Pope, whatever be their reasons for going to the Court of France, ought not to quit the States of the Church without a passport from the Pope.' At another he compares with the patriciate of Charlemagne, 'the patriciate given,' he says, 'by blessed Peter, to the Lord Pepin, the great king your father, of blessed memory.'[2]

Charlemagne was very tolerant to these ecclesiastical

[1] Lett. Ad. 75.

[2] Code Carol., Ep. 85.

pretensions. He even ceded to them sometimes; and the ruler of the warrior peoples of France and Germany, allowed himself, on occasion, to be vanquished by the obstinacy of an aged priest. This complaisance was, however, a matter of calculation; Charlemagne's design was to build up the empire of the West. With that view he revived the quarrel of images, that first pretext of division between Italy and the East. After having proclaimed in a council of the German bishops, at Frankfort, the reverence due to the holy images, he was preparing to go to Rome when he heard of the death of the Pope Adrian. He regretted in him the loss of a useful seconder of his designs, and in the small learned court he had assembled round him, some Latin verses were made in his name, expressing his grief, and the praises of the Pontiff. On the day of Adrian's funeral the clergy and people of Rome elected a successor, who took the name of Leo III., and was consecrated the next day, without waiting for the consent of any power. But the new Pope immediately despatched legates, loaded with presents, who bore to Charlemagne the keys of Saint Peter's tomb and the standard of the city of Rome; accompanied by a request that he would send one of the great men of his camp to receive the oath of obedience and fidelity from the Roman people. By this phrase he substituted the submission of the people for that of the Church, and without offending the King, he avoided submitting the pontifical election to his approval. Charlemagne, in his reply, congratulated himself on the assurance of the fidelity promised by the new Pope; and sent him, at the same time, magnificent gifts by Anguilbert, one of his confi-

dants, a member of his council and of his academy, where he bore the name of Homer, because he made verses in Greek. In a private letter, Charlemagne charges Anguilbert to seize every opportunity of speaking to the new Pope of his duties, of the observance of the holy canons, and the pious government of the Church. 'Remind him often,' says this letter, 'how few years the enjoyment of the dignity he now possesses will last, and how enduring is to be the reward reserved in eternity for him who shall worthily have fulfilled his appointed duties. Persuade him to extirpate the heresy of simony which disfigures in so many places the body of the Church, and talk to him frequently of all those things that you remember our lamenting over together. May Almighty God guide and direct you, and may He dispose to all goodness the heart of Leo, so that he may serve the holy Church in all things, and be a good father and useful intercessor for us, so that the Lord Jesus Christ may send us prosperity in the execution of His will, and mercifully grant that we may so spend what remains of our mortal life that it may lead us to eternal rest. I wish you a good journey, my dear Homer, and a happy return.'[1]

For all these pious words, we cannot doubt that the chief object of Anguilbert's mission was to procure for his master the title of Emperor of the West, by which Charlemagne was desirous of strengthening and consolidating his conquests and his power. For a long time the prince had made no secret of his aspirations; he spoke of them in his donations to the Churches. Many of his acts commence thus: 'Charles, by the grace of

[1] D. Bauquet, vol. v., p. 525.

God, King of the French and Lombards, Patrice of the Romans, if our liberality is exercised in favour of the priests of God, if we willingly defer to their wishes, we hope thereby to be raised to the height of the Imperial dignity.' But, apprised of this ambition, the Church of Rome delayed complying with it, in order that her intervention might be the more highly valued. With this idea, Leo thought it well to recal the memory of the Greek emperors by a Mosaic which he placed in the Lateran, and which represented Constantine Porphyrogenetes receiving one standard from the hand of Jesus Christ, and another from Saint Peter, who at the same time gives the pope the pallium.

But Leo, who meant to keep Charlemagne waiting, was forced to ask his assistance. A conspiracy was formed at Rome, among the officers of the pontifical palace. Leo was attacked in the midst of a procession, dragged from his horse, despoiled of his ornaments, and wounded. Being rescued by some friends, he first retired to Spoleto, under the protection of a feudatory of Charlemagne, and went thence to seek the King himself near Paderborn, in Germany. Charles received him, dismissed him with an escort, and with commissioners to judge the conspirators, and speedily followed himself, into Italy, at the head of a numerous army.

The arrival of Charles in Rome, and the events which followed, mark the period of the highest power hitherto attained by the see of Saint Peter.

The men who were accused of conspiracy against the Pope, charged him of crimes and injustice; but an assembly of the bishops and priests of Italy, to whom were joined the Frank captains and Roman nobles,

declared that nobody could accuse the Pope, because the apostolic see was the head of all the Churches, and could not be brought to judgment. At the same time, it was decided, in this assembly, that Charles, King of the French, being master of Rome, the city of the Cæsars, and of all the other cities of Italy, Gaul, and Germany, which had been at divers times part of their empire, it was just that he should receive the title of emperor, and be crowned by the Pope Leo. Nothing could have been, at the same time, more formal, and better planned, than the coronation of Charles, by which he feigned to be greatly surprised.

Christmas Day was chosen, according to the spirit of the age, to bring together the birth of Christ and that of the new empire.

An immense multitude had assembled from all parts. Charles came to perform his devotions on the 25th of December, 800; and the Pope then invested him with the imperial purple, and placed on his head a crown of gold, while the people shouted, 'Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God.' Charles afterwards promised by oath, in the name of Jesus Christ, in presence of God, and of the blessed apostle Saint Peter, to be the protector and defender of the Church of Rome. Then Leo, pouring the holy oil on his head, anointed him emperor, and his son, Pepin, King of Italy. At the same time Charlemagne received from the Caliph of the East, Haroun al Raschid, a sort of power over the city of Jerusalem. There were brought to him at Rome, the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and of Calvary; and also the banner of the holy city. This homage, which was inspired

by the glory of the French monarch, and the desire of humiliating the Greek empire, constituted Charlemagne the great protector of the Christians. Rome profited by his grandeur, and the Pope who crowned him, was associated with his glory, or rather was elevated above it.

Thus, from this time is to be dated the great power of the Roman pontificate. As long as Charlemagne lived, this greatness was hampered by active supervision. The prince had enriched the basilica of the Vatican with many precious gifts, with vases of gold, and an altar of silver; but his commissioners carefully circumscribed the claims of the Holy See over the domains forming part of the private property of the former exarch, and over the fines imposed by the Roman tribunals. They vigorously disputed the possession of certain farms, vineyards, and flocks, and claimed for the imperial treasury the confiscations levied by the officers of the Pope. We are told that Charlemagne, in his capitularies, gives orders for the sale of the herbs in his gardens, and the eggs in his poultry-yard; the same attention to details appears to have been exercised, in his name, in the supervision of that Church which he had loaded with so many gifts. In appearance, he granted it everything; but his favours were restricted, in his name, and it was he who was really obeyed in Rome. And thus his powerful hand, extending over every part of his vast empire, held all things in obedience and in order, till the moment when he ceased, at once, to govern and to exist.

In the last year but one of his reign, whether he distrusted that Roman Church he had done so much to magnify, or whether he thought he could do without

it, he determined to associate with himself, his son, Louis, afterwards surnamed the Débonnaire. After having proclaimed him in a diet of bishops and nobles, he ordered him to take the crown from the altar, and set it on his head with his own hands. He died, and among the treasures which he bequeathed to the one-and-twenty great cities of his empire, the Church of Rome received, as its share, a great silver table, on which was graven the city of Constantinople. Italy was so completely severed from the Greek empire, that the representation of Constantinople was given to Rome, as a curiosity, by the conqueror who had parted those two cities for ever.

The death of Charlemagne, by dividing those vast possessions which no hand but his own could keep together, favoured the Roman Pontificate, as much as his reign had done. The pope had been the first bishop of the great empire, and, so to say, the first ecclesiastical feudatory of a master, who ruled the Church as well as the world. But by the dismemberment of Charlemagne's empire, and amid the wars of his weak or unworthy successors, the Church of Rome was to become a mediating and sovereign power. It was very soon seen, to what an extent a change of men, changed the rights of the empire, and of the priesthood.

The Pope Leo did not long survive Charlemagne, and the new pope, elected under the name of Stephen IV., had obliged the Roman people to renew their oath of fidelity to the Emperor; and then, excusing himself by his legates, from being consecrated till his election had been confirmed by the prince, he hastened to France. When he drew near Rheims, Louis the

Débonnaire, followed by great numbers of the clergy, came out to receive him; prostrated himself three times before him, and only embraced him after having offered this lowly homage, so different from the reception accorded by Charlemagne to Stephen III. The next day, the Pope crowned the Emperor Louis, and the Empress Ermingarde, in the Cathedral of Rheims; and, eluding by this example the last intentions of Charlemagne, confirmed the Church of Rome in the privilege of making emperors.

Progress of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes under the successors of Charlemagne.

The Church of Rome was destined to profit by the weakness that caused the name of Débonnaire to be given to Louis, and that armed all his sons against him. We must not, however, believe, that it obtained the gift of the isles of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, for they did not belong to Louis; but we know very well, how in these ages of ignorance, fictitious gifts, and false title-deeds, in favour of the Roman Church were multiplied. A spiritual power, contending by the force of religion alone, against the brute-force of the middle ages, it constantly sustained its temporal power by fabricated deeds, from the time of the donation of Constantine, alleged in the eighth century, to that of Louis invented at a later date.

However, the power of Rome increased by the weakness of the empire. Charles, in bestowing so many titles on the Pope, had only the intention of setting up a golden statue that should place the imperial

crown on his own head. After Charles, when his empire was ruled by a feeble hand, and divided by factions, the pontifical statue became animated, and sought to rule. But there were serious obstacles in the way. When Lothaire, the son of Louis, and whom he had taken as his partner in the empire, came to be crowned at Rome, he formally judged a law-suit between the Pope, and the abbot of the monastery of Forfa, in Sabinia, and, after hearing the Pope's advocate, he decided against him. Some time after, he annulled the appointment of the ecclesiastical judges nominated by the apostolic chamber, and decided that some members of the council of the Emperor should be sent to exercise judicial powers in Rome. At the same time he published some constitutions which take the form of a first treaty with the pontifical power, and differ widely from those pious and often illusory donations of which Charlemagne was so lavish. In this deed, the Pope is recognised as having the power of nominating the dukes or governors, judges, and other officers. The Pope is judge, in the first instance, of all complaints made by them, and must either attend to them through his commissaries, or inform the Emperor of them.

After the promulgation of this edict, the clergy and people took the oath of fealty to Louis and Lothaire, always excepting the fidelity promised to the lord apostolic. Thus power seemed already to be divided between the Emperor and the Pope. And, under the young and ardent Lothaire, the pontifical city even obtained real independence; he compromised with her, while he ruled all the rest of Italy.

Soon we see the empire of Charlemagne broken up.

The feeble Louis, by dividing his possessions among his sons, had raised them in arms against him. The ambitious Lothaire was anxious to obtain the assistance of the Pope in his undutiful enterprise. In 833, he induced Gregory IV. to follow him to France. The French bishops of Louis' party declared, that if the Pope came to excommunicate them, he should return excommunicated himself.

The Pope only acted as meditator; visited the King in his tent, bearing rich presents, and received others in return. During the negotiation, the sons of Louis, having gained over their father's army, that unfortunate prince was obliged to surrender at discretion, and it does not appear that the Pope censured the treason which his presence had helped to promote. One thing to be remarked, however, is, that, notwithstanding the complaisance of the Pope towards these sons in rebellion against their father, it was not he, but a council of French bishops who sentenced the King Louis to perform penance. And, when afterwards, the unhappy King, with one of his sons, resumed the government of the empire, and desired to be absolved, it was not to the Pope he addressed himself, but to a council of bishops opposed to Lothaire. Yet more, after his victory, as though to free himself from the excommunication he had incurred, he caused himself to be crowned anew in the Church of Metz. Thus it was a synod of bishops that first exercised the power of deposing and reinstating kings, but every advantage acquired by the episcopate, tended to that of the Church of Rome.

Louis le Debonnaire died in the midst of the

troubles of his kingdom, and when he was making preparations for going to Rome, to seek there a renewed consecration of his feeble power. Lothaire, who succeeded to the empire, immediately sent his eldest son, Louis II. to Rome with an army. A new pope, Sergius, who had just been elected, presented himself to the young prince in front of Saint Peter's, whose gates were shut. 'If thou art come,' said he, 'with purity of heart and good-will for the welfare of the republic of the world, and of this Church, enter its doors by my permission, but, if it be otherwise, they will not be opened by me, nor by my leave.'[1] The young prince protested his good intentions, and entered the church amid the acclamations of the people, 'Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord.' A few days afterwards the Pope anointed him King of Italy in the basilica of Saint Peter's, but he declined to take the oath of fidelity which the French nobles of his suite desired. 'I agree, and I promise,' said the Pope, 'that the Romans shall take this oath, to the Emperor Lothaire, but neither I nor the Roman nobility will allow them to take it to Louis, his son.'[2]

At the same time, a Prince of Beneventum came to Rome to pay homage to the Pope, and kissed his feet, then quite a new ceremony. The duchy of Beneventum was, at that time, exposed to the incursions of the Saracens; for, after the death of Charlemagne, the barbarians renewed their invasions—the Normans in the north, the Saracens in the south. That semi-civilisation, which Rome had preserved in Italy, and which Charlemagne had scattered here and there within

[1] *Breviar.* p. 56. [2] *Breviar.* p. 58.

his extensive empire, was threatened with extinction. In truth, the Saracen pirates who pillaged the coasts of Italy, bore no resemblance to those accomplished Arabs who were distinguished, in the tenth century, by their advancement in civilisation and the arts, in Spain, after they had conquered it. They were daring robbers, and history has preserved the name of the pontiff who taught the Romans to defend themselves against them.

In 847, Leo IV. succeeded Sergius without consulting the Emperor Lothaire. The policy of the Roman clergy had pleaded the inroads of the Saracens, as the reason why they did not wait for the Emperor's orders; but once appointed, Leo found means to dissipate the danger, by which he had profited. He protected Rome by a new wall, enclosing within its circumference the basilicæ of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, and the whole of a newly-built quarter, which long bore the name of the Leonine city. At Porto, near the mouth of the Tiber, he built two fortified towers, one on each side of the river, which were connected by iron chains, that barred its entrance to the barbaric flotillas. He treated, as a sovereign, with the towns of Naples, Gaëta, and Amalfi, formerly dependencies of the Greek empire, and, repulsing the Saracens, by their help, he took many prisoners, and made them labour on the improvements and fortifications of Romè.

Rome had been, since the death of Charlemagne, the only spot in the West, where any of the learning and of the souvenirs of antiquity were preserved. The succession of barbarian invasions, that had ravaged Italy, had greatly changed the manners, the customs, and the language of the land. With the old leaven of the Latin

nations, the Greeks, the Herulii, the Goths, the Lombards, and the Franks, had been mingled; and every successive addition, had left, on the soil of Italy, some new element of manners or language. Religions were confused, and races mixed. Arianism disappeared in the Catholic faith before the Goths, who had brought it; the Goths themselves were lost, either in the mass of the ancient inhabitants, or among the new peoples, Lombard and Frank, who came after them. At what date, in all this medley, began to be formed a common language, new to the people who had become settled in Italy? It cannot be fixed precisely. The earliest monuments of it which remain, are long posterior to the time at which it must have been first in use. But, however that be, its formation, stamped with the impress of the Latin, is one of the marks of the power of the Roman Church.

The Latin tongue which this Church spoke, survived, so to say, the language of the Lombard and Frank conquerors, and formed, almost alone, the Italian of the middle ages. That rule which lays down that the portion contributed to the population of a country by different people is represented in its language, does not apply to Italy: the Latin element was always dominant there. That Latin language which remained almost the sole foundation of the vulgar tongue, was, throughout the West, the sacred language of the priests. Through it they all belonged to the Roman Church. The schools which the popes had established in Rome, for foreigners, brought up men who carried the language and religion of Rome back to their own countries; and there was no celebrated man in those

times who had not studied at Rome. That famous Alfred, who appears such a phenomenon of learning and humanity in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles of the ninth century, came to Rome, under Leo IV., with a numerous suite of his nobles. The adroit pontiff seized the opportunity of anointing a king, and bestowed on him, with the holy unction, the name of son.

Meantime the weakness of the heirs of Charlemagne had reached such a point, that they feared even the Greek Empire and its former claims on Rome. The Popes who succeeded Leo, though they had not his genius, skilfully took advantage of this fear to claim the right of bestowing the empire. Even the princes of the time adopted this idea. Louis II. wrote to the Greek Emperor, Basil, who accused him of having usurped the sovereignty of Rome: 'If we had not been Emperor of the Romans, we should not be Emperor of the French. It was from the Romans that we received the title and dignity of emperor.' At the same time, Adrian II., writing to Charles the Bald, says: 'If the Emperor Louis were to die, I have resolved to recognise none but you as emperor, even if any other prince should offer me bushels on bushels of golden pieces.'

Nothing could be more rapid than the spread of these pretensions. A few years afterwards, when Charles the Bald was in fact crowned at Rome by the Pope John VIII., the successor of Adrian, a diet assembled in Pavia, bestowed on Charles the title of King of Italy, in virtue of the title of Emperor which he had received from Saint Peter by the ministry of the Lord John, Sovereign Pontiff, Lord Universal.

Thus the new independence which Italy recovered by substituting the right of election for the law of conquest, rested for support on the pontifical supremacy.

We are a long way from the empire founded by Charlemagne; but the change in men was greater still than the change in things. The hero's race seemed about to end in individuals suffering from some infirmity. To Charles the Bald and Carloman succeeded Louis the Stammerer; to Charles the Fat, Charles the Simple. The spectacle of this weakly posterity was sure to embolden the ambition of the Popes. John VIII., after having opposed Carloman, got himself named his vicar in Italy, and Carloman having fallen ill of languor, the Pope convoked a council at Rome to elect a new King of Italy, whom he afterwards meant to create emperor. The enterprise failed. Charles the Fat, being appointed King of Italy, came to Rome in 881, and it was indispensable to crown him emperor. But Charlemagne's family was its own ruin. Arnault, who was descended from him through a concubine, seized the German dominions, which were thenceforth separated from France, and caused Charles the Fat to be deposed in a diet held at Tribur. There was no longer an emperor, and the Kingdom of Italy was contended for by the great lords of the country, Berenger, Duke of Friuli, and Guy, Duke of Spoleto. In the course of five years, five emperors visited Rome: Guy, his son Lambert, Arnault, who came thither from Germany, Louis, King of Burgundy, and Berenger, who remained master of the field.

During these changes, Rome became a sort of theocratic democracy, governed by women and priests;

a state of things which, in the barbarism of the middle ages, was only possible at Rome.

Theodora, a woman of patrician descent, equally celebrated for her beauty and her daring, obtained great power in Rome, which she prolonged by the charms of her two daughters. The city of Saint Peter was ruled by this trio of courtesans.

The mother, Theodora, by her familiar commerce with several of the Roman barons, had obtained possession of the castle of Saint Angelo, at the entrance of Rome, on one of the principal bridges over the Tiber; and she had made it an abode of pleasure, and a fortress, whence she corrupted and oppressed the Church. Her daughters, Marozia and Theodora, disposed of the pontificate by their own arts, or through their lovers, and occasionally bestowed it on the lovers themselves. Sergius III., after a contested election and seven years' exile, was recalled to the see of Rome by the interest of Marozia, by whom he had had a son, who afterwards became Pope. The younger Theodora was no less ambitious and influential than her sister. She loved a young clerk of the Roman Church, for whom she had first obtained the bishopric of Bologna, and then the archbishopric of Ravenna. Finding it irksome to be separated from him by a distance of two hundred miles, she procured his nomination to the papacy, in order to have him near her; and he was elected Pope in 912, under the title of John X.

If this favourite of a courtesan was a bad priest, he proved a courageous warrior. At this period the Church of Rome, though free from all foreign domination, was not the less exposed to imminent danger.

During the anarchy which reigned in the Italian provinces, the Saracens had multiplied their invasions and renewed their pillages. For many years they had been masters of Garillan, at the mouth of the river Liris. They held the neighbouring villages in subjection, and pushing their expeditions thence to the very gates of Rome, they either carried off the pilgrims or made them pay enormous ransoms; and in this way they obtained possession of the offerings which the pious still continued to send, to that Rome stained with so many vices. As soon as John had become Pope, he formed the project of driving away these barbarians. He resolved to summon Berenger, who had just conquered a portion of Northern Italy; and in 916, Berenger came to Rome, to receive the imperial crown. His entry was not like that of the German conquerors; he was mounted on a white nag, which the Pope had sent him. On his approach, the people and the schools of the various nations went out to meet him, according to custom; but mingled with them were many banners carried by various bodies of Romans, and surmounted by the heads of wild beasts. It seemed as if Rome had once more become martial. After the ordinary ceremonies, and when Berenger had promised to confirm the donations of the emperors, he was crowned, and among his offerings to the Church of Rome, were some suits of armour. Shortly afterwards, John, having obtained the assistance of a fleet from the Greek Emperor, marched against the Saracens established in Calabria, and defeated them.

After a pontificate of fourteen years, John was displaced by the same means to which he owed his

elevation. Marozia, Theodora's sister, having married, as her second husband, Guy, Duke of Tuscany, conspired against the Pope's life, under the pretext that he allowed too much influence to his own brother. An armed band, secretly assembled by the orders of Guy and Marozia, surprised the Pope in the Lateran palace, assassinated his brother before his eyes, and threw him into prison, where he was stifled with pillows a few days after. Marozia allowed the election of two Popes successively, whose pontificate was obscure and short; and then she raised to the papal see, a natural son of hers, it is said, by Pope Sergius III., her former lover. This young man took the name of John XI., and Marozia, his mother, having soon after lost her husband, Guy, was sought in marriage by Hugh, King of Italy, and his brother by the mother's side.

But it would appear that the people of Rome were growing weary of the tyranny of this shameless and cruel woman. They were especially indignant against her for having brought more foreigners to Rome, the barbarous Burgundians. Besides her bastard son, whom she had made pope, she had a legitimate son by Alberic, her first husband. This young man being ordered by his mother, at a banquet, to present the ewer to King Hugh, acquitted himself of this duty awkwardly, and the exasperated Burgundian struck the young Roman in the face. The latter immediately left the hall, assembled the heads of the nobility, and raised a revolt against Hugh, who took refuge in the castle of Saint Angelo, whence he escaped with great difficulty in the night, by a ladder of ropes. Alberic, the leader of this popular rising, was proclaimed consul

by the Romans, who still clung to the traditions of the republic; he threw his mother, Marozia, into prison, and set a guard over his brother, Pope John; and thus, invested with the popular power, he prepared to defend the independence of Rome against the pretensions of Hugh and the forces of Lombardy.

Alberic, master of Rome under the title of patrice and senator, exercised, during twenty-three years, all the rights of sovereignty.[1] The money was coined with his image,[2] with two sceptres across; he made war and peace, appointed magistrates and disposed of the election and of the power of the Popes, who, in that interval, filled the See of Rome, John XI., Leo VII., Stephen IX., Martin III., and Agapetus II.

The name of this subject and imprisoned papacy was none the less revered beyond the limits of Rome. From it the bishops implored the pallium, as the sign and seal of their consecration; and the only advantage a Greek Emperor derived from the rule of Alberic, was the obtaining from him, in exchange for rich presents, a pontifical brief which conferred that precious pallium upon the Patriarchs of Constantinople in perpetuity.[3]

m all parts of Christendom, which was daily

ndoquidem Albericus omnia imperatorum jura, præter nomen consentientibus Romanis, sibi vindicaverat, patricium eum vocare nt; . . . . præses vero senatus universæ urbi præfectus fuit, et hinc omnium Romanorum senator vocatur.'—(Michel. Cour. Curtii *De Senatu Romano Commentr.* lib. vi. ch. iv. pp. 169 and 170.)

[2] 'Habet ex altero latere effigiem Alberici cum sceptro cruciati, in altero verba "Albericus P. Consul."'—(Michel. Cour. Curtii *De Senatu Romano Commentr.* lib. vi. ch. iv. p. 172.)

[3] 'Jussu igitur Alberici, Pontifex Maximus patriarchis Constantinopolitanis pallii usum perpetuum, absque prævia Sedis Romanæ venia, indulsit.'—(Michel. Curtii *Comment.* ut supra, p. 171.)

extending its bounds among the pagans and barbarians, came applications from the Pope for grants of briefs for the foundation of monasteries and the formation of new bishoprics; and the fixed conviction of all men was that Rome was the fountain of religion and the depositary of the empire. But that empire, which had belonged to so many unworthy claimants since the time of Charlemagne, found none who dared to put forth a hand to lay hold on it. The King Hugh, at the head of the forces of Northern Italy, frequently ravaged the Roman states and besieged Rome. He could neither reduce it by force nor obtain an entrance by alliance, though he ended by making peace with Alberic, and giving him his daughter in marriage.

Alberic preserved the independence of Rome; and Hugh, who was hated by his own vassals in Lombardy, was obliged to fly before a fortunate competitor, Berenger, Marquis of Ivray. The latter, suddenly making his way through the Tyrol with some German and Piedmontese troops, carried everything before him; he fixed himself at Milan, as the guardian of Lothaire, the son of Hugh, twenty years of age, who was acknowledged king in his father's absence, and was married to a daughter of the King of Burgundy, Rudolph II., who had himself aspired to the crown of Italy. The speedy death of Lothaire left this crown vacant, and Berenger took possession of it with the consent of the diet of the

'Cumque eum cupiditas Alberici non lateret, missis eo muneribus satis magnis, efficit ut et Papæ nomine Theophylacto patriarchæ litteræ mitterentur, quarum auctoritate tum ipse, tum successores, absque Paparum permissu, palliis uterentur. Ex quo turpi commercio vituperandus mos incoluit, ut non solum patriarchæ, sed etiam Episcopi totius Græciæ palliis utantur.'—(Luitprandi, *Relat. Leg. suæ.*)

Italian lords, who elected him King of Italy in union with his son Adalbert. But a more powerful master than this was preparing to contend for the possession of Italy.

From the Accession of the House of Saxony to the Death of Otho I.

The race of Charlemagne, which still continued to languish on the throne of France, had failed in the land whence it took its rise. Louis IV., King of Germany, died twenty years before Charles the Simple; but the vigour of the North, of which this degenerate race no longer retained any trace, raised up successors to it in one of those provinces beyond the Rhine, which Charlemagne had by force incorporated with Germany. Saxony, which it had cost so much labour to conquer and convert, had become the most powerful of the Teutonic states, and on the death of Louis IV., in 909, it was a Duke of Saxony, Otho the Great, who, by his authority over the diet, disposed of the crown; refusing it for himself, he obtained it for Conrad.

After a reign of ten years, employed in endeavours to humble Saxony, to keep Lorraine, and to defend the rest of Germany against the Hungarians and Slavonians, Conrad died, having pointed out Henry, the son of Otho of Saxony, as the king the German states should choose.

This first monarch of the family of the Othos was bold and warlike, without being barbarous, and once more united his kingdom beyond the Rhine to the duchy of Lorraine, repulsed the Hungarians, subjugated Bohemia, took Misnia from the Slaves, and

Sleswig from the Danes; but during a reign of seventeen years, either passed in war or in preparations for it, he does not appear to have turned his thoughts towards Italy; so much was there to be done before the foundation of the empire of Charlemagne could be laid anew.

On the death of Henry, Otho, his son, whom he had appointed to succeed him, carried his conquests further. In spite of the revolts of the two powerful feudatories, and of the various peoples that formed the unquiet kingdom of Germany, and though subject to the plots of the Saxons themselves, Otho succeeded in ruling at home and remaining victorious abroad.

Henry had never crossed the Elbe, Otho subjugated all the Slavonic tribes as far as the Oder; carrying wherever he carried his arms, that only civilisation of the age, Christianity, founding bishoprics in still heathen Brandenburg and in Jutland, the ancient stronghold of the Norman invaders.

Otho, with less power and less genius than Charlemagne, attempted what Charlemagne had accomplished. Like him, he aspired to the title of emperor, which, conferred at Rome by the Pope, seemed, in the confused imaginations of the middle ages, the investiture of God himself, transmitting the inheritance of the Cæsars. But before this, it was necessary to get possession of that kingdom of Italy, that had so long ago slipped from the hold of the two feeble branches of Charlemagne's descendants. Events happened as if to aid his wishes, and gave to Otho's ambition the appearance of generosity.

Berenger, not satisfied with being chosen king on

the death of Lothaire, wished also to dispose of Adelaide, the widow of his unfortunate predecessor, by constraining her to marry his son Adalbert. Adelaide refused, and already famous by her rank and beauty,[1] became still more so for her misfortunes. She was arrested in Pavia, where she had reigned; robbed, beaten, and dragged by the hair of her head, so we are told, by order of Alberic's cruel mother, and then imprisoned in a tower on the shore of Lake Guarda. A few months after she escaped with her waiting-woman, by the assistance of a priest, who opened a subterranean passage for them under the tower.

Being parted from her liberator, who set out to claim protection for her from the Bishop of Reggio, Adelaide wandered about for several days, and was fed by the charity of a poor fisherman. It was afterwards told in all Italy that she had remained for many hours concealed in a corn-field, and that the King Berenger passed along in pursuit of her, striking his lance through the tall corn. But he did not harm her who was protected by the grace of Christ, to use the words of the nun Hroswitha, in the verses in which she has so vividly described the anguish of the young queen.[2]

[1] 'Regalis formæ præclara decore
Ingenio prælucida tanto
Ut posset regnum digne rexisse relectum.'
(Hroswitha; *De Gestis Oddonum.*)

'Ipseque cum fortis sequitur turba legiones
Et rapido segetem cursu peragravit eamdem,
In cujus sulcis latuit tunc Domna recurvis,
Hæc quam quærebat cereris contecta sub altis. . . .
Et quamvis circumspectos disjungere culmos
Nisibus extenta cunctis temptaverit hasta,
Non tamen invenit Christi quam gratia texit.'
(Hroswithæ *Historia apud Meibomium*, vol. i. ch. v. p. 721.)

The bishop came himself to seek her; and, having managed to avoid meeting Berenger, he conducted her into the mountains of Reggio, to Canossa, a fief of his bishopric, built on the summit of an isolated rock, and defended by a triple wall, and of which we shall hear again in the course of this history. Having soon learned the place of her retreat, Berenger hastened to besiege Canossa; but Adelaide had made still more haste in despatching her faithful priest to Germany, to implore the assistance of the powerful Otho, who had just returned from a victorious expedition against Bohemia.[1]

It would appear that all was in readiness for the granting of this prayer, and Otho instantly despatched his son Ludolph to Lombardy with some troops, and in less than two months after the escape of Adelaide he himself entered Pavia at the head of his Saxons. A promise which had distanced even this rapid succour had already soothed the alarms of the besieged lady at Canossa. An arrow, it is said, was shot into the place by a skilful archer, having suspended to it the reply and the nuptial ring of the King of Germany.[2]

A few days after, the siege being raised, Berenger fled; and the good priest, who was sent by Otho to Adelaide, came to Canossa, attended by a numerous escort of German knights, to take her in triumph to Pavia, where Otho, without having stricken a blow, and

[1] 'Præses Adhelaidus mox advenit venerandus.
Induxitque suam gaudente pectore domnam
Illo tempore rex profiscitur in militiam
Contra Boleslaum regem Bohemarum.
(Witk. *Corb. Ann.*), book iii.

[2] 'Litteras et annulum quem a duce detulerat, callidus clam sagittæ inseruit, ac nemine id suspicante, in arcem illum trajecit.'—(*Chron.* xx.)

who already issued his decrees under the title of King of Italy, made all haste to espouse the young and beautiful widow of its last king, Lothaire.

Having secured by this alliance all those Italians who detested Berenger, and who sympathised with the persecutions he had inflicted on Adelaide, Otho was anxious to push on to Rome, to assume the imperial crown, which he asked at the hands of the Pope Agapetus II., whose apostolic approbation he had already obtained for the new bishoprics founded in the North through his victories.

But the patrice Alberic, still master of Rome, did not care to see an emperor crowned there; and Otho, being recalled to his territories on the other side of the Alps, by the jealousies excited in his own family by his choice of a new wife, deferred for a time his ambitious views on Rome.[1] He, however, left sufficient troops in Lombardy to maintain order in his absence, and the duration of his troubles which kept him in Germany can alone explain his consenting to restore the kingdom of Italy to Berenger and his son, only retaining the suzerainty of it himself. Berenger, re-established on his throne, forgot the oath he had taken to obey Otho as a faithful vassal, and to govern his subjects as a good king; and, while Germany was distracted by the revolt of Ludolph, Otho's son, who had attacked his uncle, the Duke of Bavaria, and opposed even his father himself, Berenger once more laid siege to Canossa, the former asylum of Adelaide, and extended his depredations to the Roman States, where a new revolution had taken place.

[1] 'Ludulphus tristis a rege discessit.'—(Witk. *Corb. Ann.* lib. iii.)

Alberic died lord of Rome, and had bequeathed his power to his son Octavian, who, two years afterwards, on the death of Agapetus II., caused himself, young as he was, to be named Pope by those who already acknowledged him as patrice. Thus, in one and the same man, were united the civil and the religious power—the sword and the tiara—a revolution which, in these times, was esteemed so important, that a Greek emperor designated it as the date of the legitimate separation of Rome, and of its constitution as a regular power under a pope.

But to the fulfilment of such a task as the united duties of king and pontiff[1] John XII. brought only his inexperience and his vices; and, too feeble to defend himself against Berenger, he took the course of calling into Italy a more formidable master.

Ludolph, being pardoned by his father, was sent by him against Berenger, whom he conquered and spared, and had died in Lombardy in the flower of his age, leaving the two children, whom Otho had had by his new wife, heirs to the throne. Being most desirous of having the elder of these children, who was scarcely seven years old, crowned King of Germany, Otho determined, immediately on his son's death, to secure possession of Italy once more himself. He had long been invited thither by the bishops and nobles, who were either dissatisfied with Berenger and his son, or jealous of them; and the new Pope, John XII., had just sent him an embassy begging him, in the name of God, to deliver the Church of Rome out of the

[1] Octavian was the first who changed his name at his consecration.—(Translator.)

hands of these two monsters, and to restore it to its pristine liberty.

Otho, at peace in Germany, thought the moment favourable for recovering Rome. Having entered Italy by way of the Tyrol, he dispersed, by his appearance alone, the numerous army which Adalbert had assembled by the Valley of the Adige; he caused Berenger and his son to be deposed in a diet he held at Milan, and taking anew the title of King of Italy for himself, he was crowned in the basilica of Saint Ambrose by the Archbishop Walpert, a German; then, after having celebrated the feast of Christmas in Pavia, he advanced towards Rome with his army and the principal bishops and nobles of Lombardy.

Nothing could stop the progress of this conqueror, to whom John XII. had himself appealed; but an ancient deed exists which seems to prove that conditions and reservations were made with him. The unequal power of the two contracting parties is not a sufficient argument against the authenticity of this memorable document; if we remember that Rome had recovered her independence half a century before, that she conferred the empire, we shall easily conceive that in order to enter within her walls without striking a blow, and to receive from the hands of the Pope that imperial crown which had been so many years without an owner, Otho should have consented to take this oath:[1]—'To thee, the Lord Pontiff, John, I promise and swear by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, by this wood of the lifegiving Cross, and these relics of the Saints, that if, by God's leave, I enter Rome, I will exalt, according

[1] Michael, Cour Curtii de Senatu Romano, lib. vi. cap. v.

to my power, the Holy Roman Church, and thee, its head, and that never thy life, nor thy members, nor thy dignity shall be taken from thee by my will, my advice, my orders, or my consent; and that I will hear no pleadings, nor issue no law in things that concern thee, without thy consent.' On these conditions Otho was admitted into Rome, amid the acclamations of the senate and the people; and, in the basilica where Charlemagne had been crowned, he took his seat on the imperial throne, and was blessed and crowned by the Pope under the titles of Augustus and Emperor. The Pope, on his side, took an oath on the relics of St. Peter to hold no communication with the deposed princes;[1] and Otho, after having given him magnificent presents, and lavished his liberality on the barons, the clergy, and the people of Rome, took his way through Tuscany towards Lombardy, there to complete the overthrow of Berenger and his partisans, who still held some of the fortresses of the Duchy of Spoleto and Lake Guarda.

But that reaction which always took place in the Italian mind after every invasion of the Germans, had already operated. Those who had called for their assistance were already tired of them—the Romans especially—and they cursed a protection which was purchased with their independence. The young Pope John XII., though licentious in his life, and though he had invoked the assistance of Otho against Berenger, still possessed that Italian patriotism which had come

[1] 'Jusjurandum ab eodem papa Johanne supra pretiosissimum corpus Petri, atque omnibus civitatis proceribus, se nunquam Berengario atque Adelberto consiliaturum.'—(Luitprandi *Hist.* lib. vi. ch. vi.)

down from the nobles of Rome, and which had animated even Marozia's lovers and her bastards. When there was no longer anything to fear from the tyranny of Berenger and Adalbert, John was ready to favour their resistance as a counterpoise to the power of Otho. He complained haughtily that that prince had besieged places still occupied by them, but which were dependencies of the Roman Church.

Otho was wrath, and reproached the Pope with the irregularity of his life and the scandal he gave at Rome. He accused him, at the same time, of having sent an embassy to Constantinople, with having a secret understanding with the Hungarians, and with having recently consecrated a bishop, whose mission was to stir up a war in Hungary against the Emperor; and when the Saxon Emperor sent these ominous complaints by two bishops, he commissioned the knights who were to escort them, to confirm their words if the Pope denied the truth of them, and to offer to prove the same in the lists. John XII. received the two bishops with all ceremony, but he took no oath, and accepted no combats, and a few days afterwards he openly made an alliance with Adalbert, who had got together a few troops in Corsica and Calabria, and received him in Rome in the summer of that same year, the second of Otho's sojourn in Italy.

At the news, Otho, as soon as the termination of the great heat of summer allowed him to march his troops, moved to besiege Rome. But John XII., after having made preparations for war, and shown himself armed with casque and cuirass, crossed the Tiber, and effected his retreat with Adalbert.

Otho, who had encamped under the city walls without opposition, exacted a new oath of fidelity from the people. The principal men in Rome swore never to elect nor ordain any pope without the consent and approbation of the Emperor Otho, Cæsar Augustus, and his son, King Otho; and three days after, a council, composed principally of German and Lombard prelates, held an assembly in St. Peter's, at which many bishops of the neighbourhood, the priests and dignitaries of the Roman Church, the Roman nobility and some of the people, guarded by the Roman soldiers, were present. But the German army was under the walls, and Otho presided over this council, which he opened by asking why the Pope John was not present in that holy assembly. Many voices were raised in accusation against the pontiff: one cardinal-priest declared he had seen him celebrate mass without communion; a cardinal-deacon that he had seen him ordain a deacon in a stable, and not at the appointed season. Several accused him of having conferred episcopal ordination for money, and especially of having consecrated a boy of ten years of age, Bishop of Todia. Others accused him of adultery with his father's concubine, with a widow and her niece, and of having turned the pontifical palace into a place of prostitution, sparing neither wife, widow, nor virgin, nor those who go bare-foot, nor those who ride in their carriages. Great cruelty was also laid to his charge, notably the death of his godfather, whose eyes he had put out, and of a cardinal whom he had caused to be mutilated. Finally, he was accused of having ordered places to be set on fire; of having borne the sword and worn the cuirass;

of having drunk to the devil; and of having invoked Jupiter, Venus, and other demons while playing with dice; of not having said his matins and hours, and of not having made the sign of the cross.

The Emperor, whose presence let loose this torrent of vituperation, spoke only his native language, and therefore ordered Liuthprand, Bishop of Cremona, to say for him in the assembly, that men in the enjoyment of high dignities were often calumniated by envious tongues; that he therefore entreated them, in the name of God, whom none can deceive, by the holiness of the Mother of God, and by the most precious body of the Prince of the Apostles, not to allege anything against the Lord Pope but what was true, and had been seen by witnesses whose testimony was unimpeachable.

His flatterers raised a great clamour, and in proof of the accusation that the pope had taken arms in his hands and worn the cuirass, they invoked the testimony of the emperor's soldiers. But those witnesses were the very evidences of the oppression of Rome, and of the violence that was done to her. To palliate this violence, the members of the council who were the partisans of the emperor, desired to have their jurisdiction acknowledged by the accused pontiff. Otho, at their request, subscribed a letter couched in words which proved the respect which clove to the papal dignity in the midst of this fury against the Pope personally.

'To the sovereign pontiff and universal Pope, Otho by divine mercy, Emperor Augustus, and the Archbishops of Liguria, Tuscany, Saxony, and Franconia, in the name of the Lord, greeting:

'Having come to Rome for the service of God, we inquired the reason of your absence, of your sons, the Romans'; that is to say, the bishops, cardinals, priests, deacons, and all the people, and we asked, wherefore you would not meet us, we, the defenders of your church, and of yourself; and they have told us such obscene things, that if they were related of stage players they should make us blush. In order that your greatness may not be ignorant of these accusations, we write you some of them, in few words; for if we should particularize them distinctly, a whole day would not suffice. Know then, that by the mouth of not a few, but of all, by your order, as well as by laymen, you are accused of homicide, perjury, and sacrilege, of incest in your own family, and with two sisters. They say further, a thing horrible to hear, that you have drunk wine to the honour of the devil, and that at dice you have invoked the help of Jupiter, Venus, and other demons. We therefore earnestly entreat you to appear, and clear yourself of all these things. If so be you fear any violence from the mob, we affirm to you upon oath, that nothing shall be done contrary to the rights laid down in the holy canons. Given the 8th of the ides of November.'

John XII. was at his camp, a few miles from Rome, when he received this letter. If he had chosen to argue with his enemies, it would have been easy for him to reply that, admitting the jurisdiction of an œcumenical council over the Pope, a few bishops of Lombardy, Saxony, and the suburbs of Rome under the presidence of a foreign king, did not form such a council, and had no right to judge the head of the

Church; but he contented himself with writing to them, in these words:—

'John, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the bishops:

'We have heard you mean to elect another pope. If you do, by God, I will excommunicate you, so that you can no longer have liberty either to ordain any priest or to say a mass.'

The council, which in the meantime had been joined by the Archbishop of Treves and some Lombard bishops, answered by pointing out derisively a grammatical error in the pope's threat, and retorted his excommunication by this cutting taunt: "Judas the traitor, who sold our Lord Jesus Christ, had received from the master the power of binding and loosing in common with the rest of the disciples. As long as he was faithful among them, he could bind and loose; but when, by the love of gain, he became a murderer, and ready to take the life of Him who was life itself, he had nothing more to bind or to loose but himself, and he tied the knot in the cord that hanged him.'

This second letter, having been brought back to the council, because the Pope in the interval had quitted the campagna of Rome, the emperor, by his interpreter, made a final complaint of the perfidy of John, who, he said, had sent his legates to him in Saxony, beseeching his help against Berenger and Adalbert, and afterwards, in contempt of his oath of fidelity, sworn on the body of Saint Peter, had sent for Adalbert to Rome, and defended him against the emperor by exciting revolt, taking the lead himself in casque and cuirass. The council left it to the emperor to have

elected in his place 'another pope of good example;' and in that very assembly, Leo, the head keeper of the records of the Roman Church, and one of the legates whom John had sent to Saxony, was proclaimed Pope with the emperor's approval, by his name of Leo.

However great may have been the apparent unanimity of this council, that was either intimidated by the presence of the conqueror, or composed of his creatures, the Roman party, to which foreign rule was still more hateful than the vices of the popes, soon showed itself. The emperor, in order not to produce famine in the city, having dismissed a large number of his troops, the Romans grew bold; and, whether John XII. stirred them up by his emissaries and promises, or whether, rather, there was in the people themselves a never-failing readiness to shake off a foreign yoke, a rising took place, the bridges were barricaded, and the emperor attacked in his quarters, where the Pope of his choice had taken refuge.

But the Roman soldiery, that marched in such good order to the sound of trumpets and with banners displayed, could not stand their ground before Otho's men of arms; whom the chronicler likens to hawks scattering a flock of timid birds. The intercession of the Pope Leo alone stopped the pursuit, and spared the city, which gave hostages. We may be sure that the dissatisfaction of the Romans was a thing to be dreaded even after their defeat; for we see that the emperor exercised moderation, restored the hostages, and soon after raised his camp, to march in pursuit of Adalbert.

But he had scarcely departed, before Rome, once

more in arms, drove away Pope Leo, and opened its gates to John XII.; and though a historian of the time attributes this rising to the influence of some ladies of the nobility, who had yielded their honour to John's solicitations, it is difficult not to perceive in these rapid changes an awakening of Italian patriotism, and its resolution to struggle against Germany and the emperor. This feeling survived the head of the party who had excited it. As soon as John was re-established in possession of the See of Rome, he satisfied his revenge by punishing his enemies, and was soon after murdered in an adulterous rendezvous, and died without communion, so say the Germans.[1] Rome, none the less, persevered in maintaining the independence of which the impenitent pontiff had set the example; and without caring for the emperor or his pope, she made all haste to elect a successor to John XII.[2] But meantime, Otho had increased his army, returned to Rome, and invested it; and after a siege, during which no man who came out, passed the German lines without being mutilated, he took the city by force and by famine, and re-established his Pope Leo; then, in a council composed of submissive German and Italian bishops, he had the other pope brought forward dressed in his pontificals. The cardinal-archdeacon, who had sold himself to the emperor, interrogated him whom the Romans had elected; and addressing him as an usurper, he asked by what right he had assumed the tiara during the lifetime of Pope Leo, and if he could deny that he, like the other Romans, had sworn to the emperor here present neither to elect nor ordain any pope without

[1] This is not disputed.—Tr.

[2] Benedict V.

the consent of that prince, and his son Otho. Benedict humbled himself, and replied, 'If I have sinned, have pity on me.' The emperor was touched even to tears, and prayed the council to give Benedict a hearing, and to deal mercifully with him.

The latter threw himself at the feet of Leo and the emperor, exclaiming, that he had sinned by usurping the Holy See, and laid down, at the same time, the pallium and the pontifical crosier. Leo, leaving him seated on the ground, took off from him the chasuble and the stole, and declared him deprived of the pontificate and the priesthood, allowing him only to retain the rank of deacon, because of the pity the emperor had taken on him, and concluded by exiling him from Rome.

This is also the date assigned to two celebrated and doubtful decrees, according to which the Pope and the Church must have put themselves entirely into Otho's power.

In one, the Pope, with the consent of the Roman senate and people, gives to Otho and his successors all the domains of Saint Peter. In the other, the Pope, together with all the clergy and people of Rome, concedes to Otho and his successors in the kingdom of Italy, the right of choosing their successor, of ordaining the sovereign pontiff, as well as the archbishops and bishops, by giving them the investiture. This decree further says, that for the future, no one, however high he may be, shall have the right of electing the Pope or any other bishop without the assent of the emperor; but that this assent shall be gratuitous, and that in order to give it, the emperor must also be patrice of Rome and King of Italy.

The authenticity of these acts has been fiercely debated by modern erudition on either side of the Alps; and it is certain that wrong dates and signatures, and titles, to which history gives the lie, appear to indicate one of those forgeries so common in the middle ages, both among the partisans and the adversaries of the Church. But it matters little, it appears, whether the victorious Otho imposed these decrees, or whether, at a later date, one of the Teutonic chancellors' clerks forged them upon confused hearsay, but in conformity with the real power the emperor exercised at Rome. Whether true or false, these acts could confer on the emperor no other right than that of force, nor alter the right which the Romans had to throw off a foreign yoke whenever they could.

However it be, Otho, having confirmed his power in Rome, turned his steps towards Lombardy, with his court and his troops, decimated by that contagion so formidable to the natives of the north under the skies of Italy; he soon afterwards re-crossed the Alps, dragging with him the fallen pope, whom he kept in exile at Hamburg, to the grief and horror even of the German clergy, who deplored that the emperor, in his might, should have deposed the sovereign pontiff, whom God only may judge.[1]

The year after, his competitor, Leo, died, and a Roman deputation came to the emperor, to beg him to give them back their exiled pope; but Benedict, too,

[1] 'Romanorum præpotens imperator Augustus, valentiorem sibi in Christo dominum apostolicum, nomine Benedictum, quem nullus absque Deo judicare potuit, injusti, ut spero, accusatum deponi consensit, et quod utinam non fecesset, exilio ad Hamburg relegari præcepit.'—(Dithm. *Chronic.* lib. ii. p. 22.)

had just died under the inclement skies of Hamburg. The emperor sent two prelates of his court, Audger and the famous Liuthprand, to be present at the election of a new pope.

John XIII. was chosen, doubtless through the influence of the two German bishops, and soon afterwards he was overthrown and driven away by Peter, the prefect of the city, and one Count Rofred, who were supported by a party of the Roman nobility.

At the same time, Adalbert raised new disturbances in Lombardy, and though he was conquered by a body of German troops, he retained partisans among the bishops and the people.

Otho re-entered Italy by way of Switzerland, and marched on Rome, which hastened to recall the pope, and received the emperor without offering any resistance.

Under these circumstances, we learn that Rome had either always preserved or else had renewed the ancient titles of her magistrates; but none of those titles were any protection from the conqueror. The consuls were exiled, the tribunes hanged, and the former prefect beaten with rods, after having been taken through the city mounted on an ass, naked, and with a wine-skin on his head. Other of the Roman nobles were either beheaded or deprived of their eyes; and these punishments were pronounced in the form of sentences under the emperor's authority, and according to the laws of Justinian and Theodosius, as Liuthprand, Otho's ambassador at Constantinople, declared in face of the Emperor Nicephorus, when he complained of these cruelties.

Otho's aim, as Charlemagne's had formerly been, was to succeed the ancient Cæsars, and to inherit their power; accordingly he assumed the title of Emperor of the Romans, and his ambition was to drive the Greeks out of their remaining possessions in Calabria.

His first step was to endeavour, in some wise, to unite a claim to both empires in his son, by obtaining for him the hand of a Greek princess, Theophania, the daughter of the late emperor, Roman the younger, whose widow Nicephorus had married, and whose children he had dethroned. But in spite of the address of the negotiator Liuthprand, and the pressing letter sent by the Pope, John XIII., Nicephorus perceived the snare, and preferred fighting with the Germans in Calabria, to bestowing Theophania on them.

After several campaigns, with varied success, a conspiracy in the palace changed the face of affairs. Nicephorus was assassinated by his general, John of Zimisces, who succeeded him, and renounced Italy in order to establish himself securely in Greece. He made peace with Otho, and granted him the hand of Theophania for his son, having taken her brothers under his guardianship.

So ends, with Nicephorus, the last attempt of the Greek empire to contest with Germany the suzerainty of Rome; and the policy of Otho appears to be justified by events, and by the great influence which the young Greek, when she became the widow of a king of Germany, exercised over both Germans and Romans.

Theophania seemed, in truth, to bring with her something of the ancient sovereignty which the Cæsars of Constantinople had claimed over Italy, and when she

came from Calabria into Rome with all the pomp of an Oriental cortège, and when, on the Sunday after Easter, she was wedded to the youthful Otho, in the Church of Saint John Lateran, and received, as she knelt under the same veil with him, the holy anointing and the crown, her beauty and grace, joined to the renown of the Greek empire, as represented in her person, must have raised in the eyes of both peoples, the German conquerors, to whose family she thenceforth belonged, and have endowed these rude masters with an additional claim on Rome.[1]

This marriage and coronation put an end to Otho's prolonged stay in Italy. He returned to Germany after six years' absence, and died the same year, in the town of Memel.

His son then became the inheritor of the power and dominions he had acquired. The nobles and captains immediately took the oath of fidelity to the young prince, who had been already crowned by the Pope, and designated as the successor to the empire. But he was, moreover, elected by the people, or at least by the Diet, before the funeral of his father at Magdebourg. Thus clear it is, that in the formation of this kingdom the elective right of the people and the religious investiture were confusedly entangled. The religious investiture began what the voice of the people completed; but this example sufficiently indicates what importance the Teutonic monarchs attached to holding and keeping Rome, as the source of power for them and for their sons.

[1] 'Celebratis magnifice nuptiis.'—(*Witekind*, book iii.)

Otho II.

On succeeding his father, Otho the Great, Otho the Second was immediately obliged to repel the Danes, who, poor and rapacious, were barbarians in the eyes of the Germans, just as they themselves were in the eyes of Italians. He was next engaged in a struggle to establish peace in his own family, between the Dukes of Bavaria and Suabia, who, though his own nephews, were not much more docile than the great vassals his father had formerly despoiled; and lastly, he was forced to maintain a war for the possession of Lorraine, against Lothaire, King of France, that last of the Carlovingians, save one, who alone seemed to struggle against the degeneracy of his race, and who might, perhaps, have prevented its fall, if there had been no Hugh the Great to watch over the throne, and no Hugh Capet ready to ascend it.

During these embarrassments, and while young Otho, having been surprised even in Aix-la-Chapelle by an attack of Lothaire, in his turn pursued his assailants to the very walls of Paris, the Italians had again taken courage to rise against the men of the North. The towns of Lombardy emancipated themselves, appointed their own consuls, and built fortified towers for their defence.

The same spirit of independence showed itself at Rome. The pope, Benedict VI., who had been forced on the Romans during the lifetime and under the power of Otho I., was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, and put to death by order of Crescentius, who, being a son of Theodora, belonged to that portion of the

nobility that was distinguished by its licentiousness and its courage.

There was, nevertheless, an imperial party in Rome; and in the shock of the two factions the Papacy was exposed to plunder. A new pontiff, Boniface VII., being attacked by the Counts of Tusculum, who were the partisans of the empire, fled after the expiration of a month, to Constantinople, taking with him the sacred vessels and ornaments of the basilica of the Vatican. He was succeeded by another, who very soon died.

Detained far from Italy, but ever watchful of the changes at Rome, Otho, in accordance with the advice of Adelaide, his mother, would have been glad thenceforth to seat in the pontifical chair, some holy and famous priest, chosen in his possessions beyond the Alps. He cast his eyes on Maieul, abbot of the monastery of Cluny, in the kingdom of Burgundy, summoned him to his court, and, in presence of the assembled bishops and nobles, pressed him to become a candidate for the pontifical see. Either from prudence or timidity, Maieul declined, and as Otho was, doubtless, not then in a position to take him to Rome himself, he allowed the Counts of Tusculum once more to dispose of the tiara.

It was not till five years later, that Otho, having concluded a treaty with Lothaire, which gave Lorraine to Germany, was free to cross into Italy, and came, at the head of a numerous army, to re-assert his rights of conquest in Lombardy, the duchies of Spoleto and Fermo, and in the States of the Church, and Calabria. Nothing retarded his march to Rome, where Benedict VII., a creature and relative of the Counts of Tusculum,

filled the pontificate. Otho stayed some months in the city, in the early part of the year 983, and in the first place, regulated many matters concerning the Church in Germany, by those Roman judges who, says a bishop of the time, were at all times ready to sell their decisions.

The Archbishop of Magdeburg, Adalbert, having died, the clergy and people had met, according to custom, and had chosen as his successor, a learned and eloquent man, the Canon Autrick, who had long managed the Cathedral schools. A deputation, accompanied by Autrick himself, immediately set out to Italy, to obtain the Emperor's approval, but all the merits of the newly-elected archbishop could not prevail. In vain did he for a whole day sustain a learned controversy with the celebrated Gerbert, before the Emperor and his court at Ravenna.[1]

A favourite of the Emperor's, Gesler, Bishop of Merseburg, desired the vacant archbishopric, and while promising to support Autrick in his rights, he supplanted him with his master. The pope, Benedict VII., having been consulted, decided that the bishopric of Merseburg should be abolished, and merged in that of Halberstadt, and Gisler, having thus lost his episcopate, received in lieu of it the archbishopric of Magdeburg, in contempt of the election the diocese had made, and of the rights of a Church.

This example, among many others, demonstrates the interest the empire had in acknowledging and increasing the power of the Roman Pontificate, in order afterwards to control it and use it as an engine against the liberty of particular Churches.

[1] Hug. Flav. *Chron.* pp. 137, 138.

The Court of Rome, nevertheless, though it was sometimes influenced by threats and by gifts, did not fail to denounce corruption in its own members. Benedict VII., in a synod held in the Church of Saint Peter, in presence of Otho, caused to be read and confirmed the ancient anathemas against simony.

'If anyone,' said he, 'whether priest or deacon, has been refused by his bishop or metropolitan the gratuitous gift of the Holy Ghost, let him come to our Holy Mother the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, and he shall there receive the episcopal benediction, without heretical simony.' But in this same synod the Pope accorded the pallium to the rich and powerful favourite of Otho, while the man who had been elected by the Church of Magdeburg, rejected and despised, died obscurely in an Italian town. Gisler went to take his place at Magdeburg, and not content with that extensive diocese, he further took possession of several towns in that bishopric of Merseburg, 'that he had caused to be divided and obliterated,' says the chronicler, 'like a Slave family that is sold and dispersed.'

These bishoprics in the north of Germany were, it is true, but the advanced posts on the domains of barbarism. The Slavonic tribes who bordered on Saxony, and whom the predecessors of Otho had often subjected to tribute and the nominal acceptance of the Christian faith, were all idolaters at heart, and still followed, in their villages in the depths of the forest, the observances of a sanguinary paganism.

During the stay of Otho at Rome, they, being exasperated by the severity of the Margrave of Saxony,

rose, and committed frightful ravages from Havelburg to Hamburg.

Their bands having become very numerous, were attacked by Gisler, who marched against them with the margrave and the principal seigneurs of the province, and their dispersion after a great battle assured security for some time to come to the frontiers of Saxony. Otho, easy as regarded Germany, remained in Italy, where his wife, Theophania, who had just given him a son, stirred him up to claim, sword in hand, the rights which she had promised him over Apulia and Calabria, then occupied by the Greeks. In this contest, in which the Greeks of Constantinople had as their allies the Saracens of Sicily and Africa, Otho, young and ardent, took towns, fought battles, and ran the most romantic risks; and possibly he would have achieved much had his life been prolonged. The design of more closely uniting all the parts of the empire is apparent in the diet which he held at Verona, and in which he caused his son, four years old, to be acknowledged King of Germany and Italy, by the votes of the Italian seigneurs. In the same assembly, Otho's Italian vassals, and Conrad, King of Burgundy, his vassal on the other side of the Alps, proffered help to carry on the war against the Saracens and Greeks.

But a few months afterwards Otho, consumed by languor, died at Rome, on the 7th of December 983, without having secured anything but his son's succession. Conscious that his end was approaching, Otho, after the Diet of Verona, had sent the child to Germany in the care of Warin, Archbishop of Cologne, to be by him taken to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there, on Christmas

Day, eighteen days after the death of his father at Rome, the baby-prince was crowned, by the hand of Wilheghise, Archbishop of Mayence, King of Germany and Italy.

OTHO III.

At Rome, Theophania retained the title of empress, which she had received at her husband's coronation; but the strength to support this title was to be sought in Germany. Leaving, then, the chief authority in the hands of the pope, John XIV., a creature of Otho the Second, under whom he had been Bishop of Pavia and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Italy, she went to rejoin her son, and claim the guardianship of him. The kingdom of Italy, of which the principal fiefs and the chief dignities of the Church were in the hands of men of German extraction, remained under the influence of Adelaide, then at Pavia. 'The faith I kept with the son I will keep with the mother, my sovereign, Adelaide,' wrote Gerbert, Abbot of Bobbio; and most of the Lombards shared his sentiments. And thus, in these rude and turbulent times, it was given to two women to maintain the rights of a child, over Italy, which he had quitted in his infancy, and over Germany, which was not his native land.

Rivals in power, these two women, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, may each have contended for the guardianship of the infant Otho, but Theophania obtained it; and though her Grecian elegance and her luxury in dress caused her to be charged with corrupting the simplicity of the German court, she succeeded in assembling around her the most valuable counsellors,

and in overcoming great difficulties. The first of these difficulties arose from the conduct of the Duke Henry, who, having been let out of prison on the death of Otho II., took possession of the young king, and claimed the right to the protectorship, or rather to the crown. But, as Gerbert says, it was fitting to give the lamb to its mother, not to the wolf.

Henry had already usurped his ward's rights by taking possession of the crown at Magdeburg; and in a second diet, assembled at Quedlimburg, under the very eyes of Matilda, the daughter of Otho the Great, he had received the oaths of allegiance of the vassals; but the Archbishop of Mayence, who had crowned the young king, the Dukes of Bavaria, Allemania, and Franconia, ranged themselves round the Empress, and swore to maintain the rights of her son.

Both sides negotiated in arms, and Henry, in a diet held at Worms, finally consented to restore the young king to his mother, and in return he was re-established in his Duchy of Bavaria, with additional territory eastwards; and the last possessor of this country, the Duke Henry, who had taken up arms for the infant Otho, received in exchange the Duchy of Carinthia, formed out of a portion of Bavaria, and extending to Verona. In virtue of these arrangements the young child, who was hailed king in Quedlimburg, was served at table by the dukes, his great vassals, and received the oaths of the Dukes of Bohemia and Poland.

The first care of Theophania was the education of the young king. But whatever advantage was gained by a season of internal peace, the conquests of Germany were adjourned, and its power in Italy diminished

during the troubles and embarrassments incident to a long minority. From Verona to Pavia, and as far as Ravenna, the German domination was maintained, but Rome had again fallen into a state of anarchy. The pope, Boniface VII., having returned from Constantinople, whither he had carried, and where he had sold, the most precious ornaments of the Roman Church, had again obtained possession of the pontificate, by stirring up a party of the people, and had thrown his successor, John XIV., into a dungeon of the Castle of St. Angelo, where he soon afterwards died of starvation. Boniface VII. himself died after a few months, and was succeeded by Pope John XV., a Roman by birth, who held his dignity but a short time, a Roman faction having been raised against him; so true is it, that in the continual revolutions in Rome, in the middle ages, there co-existed the rising of the natives against foreigners, and the struggle between the nobles against the priests.

This state of things gave prominence to an individual whose memory still lives in Italian tradition, and who, whether from ambition or patriotism, under the title of Patrice and Consul, defended the liberties of his country in the tenth century. This man was Crescentius, who was descended from an ancient family of Rome. Being dissatisfied with the pope, John XV., in the second year of his pontificate, Crescentius took up arms against him, and forced him to fly from Rome. He took refuge in Tuscany, under the protection of the Margrave Hugh, a faithful vassal of the Court of Germany, and solicited through his legates, and by his letters, the succour of the empress. On hearing this, Crescentius, bearing in mind the vengeance taken on Rome by Otho II.,

hastened to negotiate with the Pope, and to open the gates of the city to him.

The wished-for succour was still far off. Everything contributed to retain Theophania in Germany, though she was diligently fitting her son for Rome and the empire. As soon as the young prince had attained his seventh year, still under the eyes of the Empress and Wilheghise, Archbishop of Mayence, his education had been confided to the care of a young and estimable cleric, of the Church of Ildelsheim, by name Bernoard, the grandson of the Count Palatine, Adalbert, and renowned for his learning and his proficiency in the various arts of drawing, architecture, and goldsmith's work, which he practised with rare skill. In the school of such a master, the young Prince made rapid progress in Roman literature and accomplishments, while continuing these warlike exercises of his own nation, with which he was familiar from his childhood. Another and more celebrated master, Gerbert, who since the death of Otho had resided on the German side of the Alps, seems to have assisted in the Emperor's education at a subsequent period. There exists a letter, signed with the name of Otho, addressed to *Gerbert, the most accomplished of all philosophers*, in which the young prince congratulates himself in that such a very learned teacher should have condescended to instruct his ignorance, and in which he asks for further information, both by letter and by word of mouth. 'We trust,' he says, 'you will not refuse our desire by reason of our Saxon rusticity, but rather that you will exercise our Greek subtilty on this study; for if anyone would take the trouble to arouse it, he would assuredly find in us some spark of

Grecian fire. We humbly pray you, then, to bring to our feeble ray the brilliant light of your learning, and so, by God's help, to arouse in us the genius of Greece, and to write for us a little treatise on arithmetic, that being enlightened thereby, we may be able to understand something of the subtilty of the ancients. We trust, moreover, that your paternity will not delay to inform us by letter what it may please you to do or not to do in this matter.'

The following year, 989, the Empress crossed the Alps to pass the feast of Christmas at Rome; nothing either interrupted her journey or disturbed her stay. The reason was that all the principalities near Rome were held by chiefs of the Teutonic race. Tuscany, in particular, was governed by the Margrave Hugh, a martial and popular chief, whose power Theophania had increased by the investiture of the duchy of Spoleto. After having rendered his homage, Hugh accompanied the Empress through Italy, and on her return to Germany, as far as Nimeguen, where she died, leaving her son Otho, twelve years of age.

Adelaide, the grandmother and last stay of the young prince, having then quitted Pavia to go to Germany to take care of his interests, Italy, we may be sure, would free herself to some extent from the foreign power which she lay under. The consequences were felt from the foot of the Alps to Rome.[1]

In Lombardy, war broke out between the people and the bishops, who were supported by the nobility. The

[1] 'Quod cum inclyta imperatrix Adelheidis comperiret, tristis protinus affecta, regem tunc vii. annos regnantem visitando consolatur, ac vice matris secum tam diu habuit. Quod ipse protervorum consilio juvenum tristem illam dimisit.'—(Ditm. *Episc. Chronic.* lib. v. p. 38.)

prelates, Landulph, Archbishop of Milan, Olderic, Bishop of Cremona, were foreigners, Germans, on whom Otho had conferred, with the ecclesiastical power, seigneurial rights over the towns. They were supported by nobles, foreigners like themselves, on whom they had bestowed rich abbeys or fiefs dependent on the Church. Their adversaries were the dwellers in the country, the shopkeepers and workmen in the towns, and often, even the vassals of the monasteries, as we learn from Gerbert, the abbot of Bobbio, who has left a letter expressing his fear to set out on a journey with the Italian men-at-arms of his abbey.[1]

These popular risings were frequent in Lombardy during the minority of Otho III., and led to violent encounters at Milan and its neighbourhood, in which the archbishop was conquered and his palace forced. Peace was made, however, and Landulph built a new monastery in the city as an expiation of the discord of which he had been the cause. But the movement of which the Lombard States set the example in the middle ages, was none the less a fact which time was to develop. At the same period, an ancient dependency of the empire, Venice, whose lagunes protected it from the barbarians, had grown rich in commerce, having obtained from Adelaide privileges which were nearly equivalent to complete independence. The authority of the imperial seigneurs and judges continued to govern in the principal cities of Lombardy, and in Ravenna. In Tuscany the German conquests were maintained by the Margrave Hugh, whose power extended into Apulia, where he

[1] 'Credere me non ausum fidei meorum militum, quia Itali sunt.'—(Gerbert. *Epist.* xci.)

executed justice, in the name of the empire, on the murderer of a prince of Capua, the assassin being the prince's brother. But at Rome all power was in the hands of Crescentius. If he did not drive out the Pontiff as before, he appeared to lord it over him, and this subjection was doubtless held sufficient to justify the resistance that there appeared beyond the walls of Rome, against the sovereignty of the Roman Church. The objection was not put forward in the time of Charlemagne, and the liberty of the Church of Rome had, so to say, shone out in the very grandeur of the master on whose head it set the crown. But when it became common talk in the various Churches of Christendom, that the Pope was under the power of a Roman Baron who had made himself Consul, the religious respect, already diminished by the remembrance of the shameless reigns of Marozia and her sons, received a new and violent shock. The example of this was given in that very kingdom of France which the interests of the kings of the first and second race had so closely united to the Holy See of Rome, and who had done so much to exalt its power and glory. The accession of a new royal family was the cause.

At the death of the young king, Louis V., the crown of France, claimed in vain by his uncle, Charles of Lorraine, had been seized by the most powerful seigneur in the kingdom, Hugh Capet, a celebrated warrior, descended from the two princes Robert and Eudes, who had governed during the interregnum of the second race. Though Hugh put aside Charles's claims to the throne, he proved himself generous to the rest of the dispossessed family. On the death of Adalbert, Archbishop of

Rheims, who, by the advice of the prudent Gerbert, had abandoned the cause of the ancient kings,[1] and bestowed the holy unction on their successor, he allowed to be elected in his place, Arnulph, the natural son of the last but one of the Carlovingians, Lothaire. He forced him, however, to subscribe a most strict and binding oath of fidelity, confirmed, moreover, by a prayer that if ever he broke it, the benediction he received should be turned into a curse, that his days should be cut short, that his friends should become his mortal enemies, and his bishopric another should take.

But once anointed, and Bishop of Rheims, the bastard of the ancient kings, soon forgot his oath, and delivered up the important city to Charles of Lorraine, who had suddenly appeared with an army before it. Rheims was then besieged by Hugh, who burned to deprive an enemy and a traitor of the sacred dignity he had abused. Meantime Arnulph, being summoned to defend his conduct before a council of French bishops, refused to appear, and the Pope's seemed to be the only authority by whom such a high dignitary could be judged. Hugh applied then to Rome, and in a letter to Pope John, he vividly recounts the birth of Arnulph, his elevation, his promises, and his treason, and calls upon the Pontiff not to let the royal authority be trampled on, and to decide on the fate of a second Judas, 'lest,' says he, 'the name of God be blasphemed, and that we, being moved to just resentment by your silence, may not consummate the ruin of the city and the desolation of the province. You will then have

[1] 'Lotharius rex Franciæ prolatus est solo nomine, Hugo vero non nomine, sed actu et opere.'—(Gerbert. *Epist.* lib. iv.)

no excuse before God, for not having at our desire and in our ignorance pronounced judgment.' A short time after, another letter from the bishops of the diocese of Rheims denounced the crime of Arnulph in yet stronger terms, entreating the Holy Father to issue the sentence they seem to dictate. 'Let us find in you,' said the letter, 'a second Saint Peter, the defender and stay of the Christian faith; let the Holy Roman Church pronounce condemnation on a criminal whom the whole Church condemns; let your authority maintain us in deposing this renegade, as in the ordination of a new bishop, to preside over the household of God and its affairs, with the help of our brethren; that we may thereby understand wherefore we should place your apostolate first before all others.'[1]

Whether Hugh Capet omitted to interest the Consul Crescentius, then master of Rome, in the success of his request, or whether, rather, the Pope, in conformity with the feeling of the Roman Church, still retained some affection for the descendants of Charlemagne, and so, was little disposed to receive with favour the haughty entreaties of bishops who were all partisans of the new king, the two letters remained unanswered. Hugh Capet, who, in the meantime, had re-taken Rheims, and made Arnulph prisoner, had him tried in that city by a provincial council, of whose proceedings Gerbert has left us an account. In this council there were produced, in disproof of the claim of the Pope alone to judge a bishop, ancient canons; and it was alleged that a Pope

[1] 'Ferat sancta Ecclesia Romana sententiam damnationis in reum, universalis damnat Ecclesia' (Synodus Remensis & Francofurti M. D. C.) 'ut sciamus cur inter cæteros apostolatum vestrum præferre debeamus.'

may err through ignorance, or fear, or cupidity.[1] In the language of the most pious bishops of this assembly, we may discover how much the oppressions and scandals of the Apostolic See had, at that time, lessened its authority. 'O wretched Rome!' says the Bishop of Orleans, 'who after having enlightened our ancestors by the light of the holy fathers, hast spread over our times those clouds of darkness that will be a disgrace in after ages! We have heard of the illustrious Leo, and of the great Gregory; not to speak of Gelasius and Innocent, so eminent for their wisdom, eloquence, and learning. The list of those Pontiffs who filled the world with their doctrine, is a long one, and justly was the Universal Church confided to the direction of those who were superior to their fellow men in learning and piety. And still, in so blessed a time, that privilege, O Rome! was contested by the bishops of Africa, rather, I verily believe, from a dread of the miseries under which we groan at this present, than from fears of thy domination; for what have we witnessed in these latter days? Have we not beheld John, whose name was Octavian, wallowing in his vices, conspiring against Otho, whom he had himself crowned Augustus.[1] That John was driven away, and the neophyte, Leo, made Pontiff; but the Emperor Otho having left Rome, Octavian returns, puts Leo to flight, causes the deacon John's nose and right hand to be cut off, and his tongue cut out, and after having slaughtered many of the first men of the city, he dies. The Romans name as his successor, Benedict, surnamed the Grammarian; Leo, the

[1] 'Vidimus Johannem cognomento Octaviano in volutabro libidinum versatum, etiam contra eum Ottonem quem Augustum creaverat, conjurasse.'

neophyte, and his emperor soon return, attack and seize him, and send him into Germany for ever.

'To the Emperor Otho succeeds the Cæsar Otho the Younger, remarkable among all princes by reason of his genius, his valour, and his prudence. In Rome, a man succeeds to the Pontificate, who is a monster of vice, and whose hands are stained with the blood of his predecessors. Driven out in his turn, and condemned in a Synod, held after the death of Otho of blessed memory, he returns to Rome, and having, under the most solemn oath, enticed the holy Pontiff, Peter, formerly Bishop of Pavia, outside the citadel, he casts him into a dungeon to die. Is it right, that before such monsters, covered with ignominy, and void of all knowledge, human and divine, the priests of God throughout the world, distinguished for their learning and holiness, should bend the knee?[1] What shall we say, revered fathers? To what blemish shall we attribute the fact that the first of the Churches of God, once so lifted up and crowned with glory and honour, should be brought down so low and tarnished with shame and infamy? If we severely expect gravity of manners, purity of life, joined to sacred and profane learning, in every man who is ordained to the Episcopate; what ought not to be exacted in the case of him who aspires to be the teacher of all bishops. How, then, is it that those have been put in possession of that most high See, who were not worthy to fill any place whatsoever in the priesthood? What, in your eyes, reverend fathers, is that Pontiff, seated on a throne, and clad in purple

[1] 'Num talibus monstris ignominia plenis, scientia divinarum et humanarum rerum vacuis, innumeros sacerdotes Dei per orbem terrarum, scientiâ et vitæ mente conspicuos subjici decretum est.'—(P. 60.)

and gold? If he hath not charity, and be puffed up with his learning only, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and demeaning himself as a god; he is like unto a statue in that temple, like a dumb idol, and to ask of him a reply, is to appeal to a figure of stone.'[1]

Further on the orator speaks of Rome as having lost the Church of Alexandria and the Church of Antioch, and, not to speak of Africa and Asia, tells us to cast our eyes on Europe. 'For,' says he, 'the Church of Constantinople has withdrawn herself from Rome, and the interior provinces of Spain refuse to receive her judgments. There is, in the words of the apostle, division not only among the nations, but in the Churches,[2] because the time of Anti-Christ approaches; and, as the same apostle says, the mystery of iniquity is begun. It is manifest that in the decay of Roman power and the abasement of religion, the name of God is degraded with impunity by those who are perjured, and that the observance of His holy religion is despised by the sovereign pontiffs themselves. Rome, in a word, already reduced to solitude, is breaking up, and no longer watches over herself or the rest of the world.'

By this language, which was not surpassed in the reform of the sixteenth century, and in which there already

[1] 'Quid nunc, reverendi patres, in sublimi solo residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid nunc, inquam, esse censetes? Si charitate destituitur, totaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Si autem nec charitate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est, a quo responsa petere marmora consulere est.'—(*Synodus Remensis*, p. 61.)

[2] 'Fit ergo discessio, secundum Apostolum, non solum gentium, sed etiam ecclesiarum.'—(*Synodus Remensis*, p. 74.)

appear allusions to Anti-Christ and the mystery of iniquity, we may judge how much Rome had lost in popular estimation, and what a task the great Pope of the eleventh century undertook. The Council of Rheims did not restrict itself, in fact, to contesting both by text and argument the canonical right of the Pope to judge bishops. 'In the words of this assembly the Pope and cardinals have not even the learning necessary for a door-keeper of a church.[1] Rome is a venal city which weighs her judgments against money in the balance. Kings ought not to let themselves be deceived by these delays and ambiguities, nor seek to purchase at Rome a sentence of judgment against a bishop convicted of high treason, who will not fail to offer heaps of silver and gold to buy himself off.' The council having then taken upon itself to judge Arnulph, with the reservation only of not pronouncing capital punishment, interrogated, convicted him, and deposed him. Then the same assembly appointed a successor to the See of Rheims, and Gerbert, who had early foreseen the fate of the young Louis, who had lent his efforts to the elevation of Hugh Capet to the throne, and who had presided over the assembly that had sentenced Arnulph, was chosen to fill his place. But, as soon as the news of these events reached Rome, the Pope, John XV., seeing his rights disavowed in these acts of deposition and election, excommunicated the council of Saint-Basle and declared that he recognised as Archbishop of Rheims none but Arnulph, then lying in the king's prison. In vain did Hugh Capet write to entreat him not to accept as true,

[1] 'Hoc tempore Romæ nullus pene sit qui litteras didicerat, sine quibus, ut scriptum est, vix ostiarius efficitur.'—(*Synodus Remensis*, p. 72.)

doubtful reports, but to judge all things for himself. 'I and my bishops,' he said, 'are well assured we have done nothing against your apostolate. If, in your absence, you do not believe us, come and see for yourself. The city of Grenoble is on the confines of Italy and Gaul, whither the Roman pontiffs have been accustomed to advance to meet the kings of France; if it should please you to do likewise, be it so. But, if you should prefer to visit us in our dominions, we will receive you at the foot of the Alps with all honour, and will mark your return by all those tokens of respect which are due to you. We say this in the sincerity of our hearts, so that you may possess the assurance that neither we nor our people, desire to decline your judgment in anything.'

This letter was not answered, and the ingenious Gerbert, who had dictated it, then tried to prove by divers extracts that he had done nothing against the authority of the Pope, in the condemnation of Arnulph, since it had been pronounced according to canons decreed or approved by the Pope.

In forwarding this address to the Bishop of Strasburg, who, as a subject of Otho, was in his favour, he laments that Rome, hitherto the mother of the Churches, should curse the good and bless the wicked, and abuse the power to loose and bind which she has received from Jesus Christ. And in a letter to Seguin, Archbishop of Sens, one of the excommunicated council, he protests anew against the uselessness of waiting for the judgment of the Roman pontiff, when the law divine has been complied with.[1] 'Our enemies,' he says, 'may

[1] Poterúntne docère Romani Episcopi judicium Dei judicio majus esse?

teach that the judgment of the Bishop of Rome is greater than the judgment of God. But the first among bishops, or rather the prince of the apostles themselves, tells us we should obey God rather than man. Paul, the teacher of the nations, tells us, "If any shall preach unto you that which you have not been taught, were he an angel from heaven, let him be unto you anathema." Tell me, then, should all the bishops burn incense to Jupiter because the Pope Marcellinus did so? I say it boldly: If the Bishop of Rome himself has sinned against his brother, and if being repeatedly admonished he has refused to hear the Church, that Bishop of Rome, yea, he himself, according to the precept of God, should be esteemed a heathen and a publican.[1] The higher the station the deeper the fall.' Gerbert concluded by exhorting the bishops, who had been excommunicated on his account, to be firm, and not to abstain from the celebration of the holy mysteries.[2] We may presume that Gerbert was not encouraged to write thus boldly by the power of Hugh Capet alone. The former protegé of the Othos was doubtless also upheld by the hope that their influence, which had been checked at Rome by the troubles incident to a minority, would one day be re-established and undo all that had been done in the interval. Meantime, the Pope without rescinding the excommunication that had been pronounced, had sent

[1] 'Num quia Marcellinus papa Jovi thura incendit, ideo cunctis episcopis thurificandum fuit? Constanter dico, quod si ipse Romanus episcopus in fratrem peccaverat, sæpiusque admonitus ecclesiam non audierit, hic, inquam, Romanus episcopus præcepto Dei est habendus sicuti ethnicus et publicanus.'—(*Synodus Remensis*, p. 147.)

[2] 'Iterum valete, et a sacrosanctis et mysticis suspendere vos nolite.'—*Synodus Remensis*, p. 140.)

two legates to France to examine, in a new council, the important affair of Rheims. But that council was never held; and, during the struggles of Gerbert to maintain possession of his disputed see, the event he hoped for was accomplished. The young Otho's presence being invoked, says a chronicler, by the prayers of the Romans, or, as we must rather believe, pressed by his advisers to exercise in his own person the power that was still in their hands, he had crossed the Alps in 996 with a numerous army, and, after having halted at Verona, where his uncle, Otho, Margrave of Carinthia, commanded, to celebrate the feast of Easter, had marched with all his troops on the royal city of Ravenna. There a deputation of the principal citizens of Rome waited upon him to announce the death of the Pope John XV.

It is evident that the city of Rome, whatever party of priests or nobles had held sway of late years within its walls, felt itself powerless to offer resistance to the young Cæsar of Germany and his German soldiers, whose numbers were swelled by the addition of the troops furnished by the Lombard vassals. Crescentius does not even appear to have made the slightest effort; and the vacancy of the Holy See offered to the young conqueror an easy occasion of immediately re-establishing the power which his ancestors had exercised. He chose the new pope from those around him, selecting the youthful Bruno, son of the Margrave of Carinthia and Verona; who, being the son of a daughter of Otho the Great, was a member of the Imperial family, and sent him to Rome with two prelates of his court, Wilheghise, Archbishop of Mayence, and Adalbold, the learned Bishop of Utrecht. The

clergy, the nobles, and the people of Rome conformed to the will of the young prince, and Bruno was raised to the See of Saint Peter before the King of Germany entered Rome, where, on the 21st of May of the same year, he was anointed and crowned by the hands of the Pope he had nominated.

This resumption of German conquest was wholly unstained by blood. Otho held a court, over which he presided as judge, and condemned Crescentius to banishment; but, in compliance with the entreaty of the new pontiff, and doubtless also to conciliate public favour, he retracted that sentence; then leaving Rome at peace, he returned to Lombardy to be crowned at Monza with the iron crown, and on his return to Germany the same year he celebrated at Cologne his fifteenth birthday.

But when the German army recrossed the mountains, it took with it all the terror and docility of the Romans. Crescentius, who, though pardoned by the Emperor, had lost the patriciate, was not slow in forming a plot against a pope who was the son of a German margrave. And, notwithstanding the acclamations which had saluted the accession of Gregory V., a revolt against him broke out. Crescentius, ever dear to the Romans, retook the castle of Saint Angelo, and the Pope, being forced to fly in haste, took refuge in Lombardy with his father, the Margrave.

Such was the power of this popular rising and of the ever-dreaded name of Rome, that the Margrave Otho, on receiving his son on his expulsion from the Holy See, dared make no attempt for his restoration. Gregory V. contented himself with assembling a council of Lombard bishops, in which he excommunicated

Crescentius, while the latter proceeded to take measures in Rome for the election of a new pope. John Philigrates, Archbishop of Placenza, but of Greek origin, was immediately proclaimed. The imperial chroniclers have written it down that the Roman consul sold the papacy for money; but Crescentius had a better motive in desiring to see in the pontifical chair a man who, having been born in Calabria, was a subject of the Greek empire, and who could bring the Romans the support of the court of Constantinople, to which, by the favour of Theophania, he had often been ambassador from the emperors of Germany, whom he now assailed by assuming the tiara. But whatever were John Philigrates' designs for restoring Rome to the Greek Empire, the time failed him to carry them out; the inclination of the Romans may too, perhaps, have been wanting, for they had no less repugnance towards their old masters than their new ones.

Otho was detained fifteen months in Germany, occupied in a martial expedition against the Slaves, and in the studies proper to his age. At his court were assembled, not only the eminent bishops who had shared the duties of his education, but a number of learned men, to whom it was his delight to propose such subtle questions in logic that they sometimes remained unanswered. We learn these details from a contemporary whose varied fortunes just then placed him about Otho.

On the death of Hugh Capet, Gerbert had despaired of retaining his archbishopric of Rheims. Though protected by the Othos, he did not find, in the new German pope of their choice, any more favour than he had obtained from the Italian Pope persecuted

by Crescentius. Gregory V. persisted in acknowledging no other but Arnulph as Archbishop of Rheims; and the new King of France, Robert, desiring to obtain the dissolution of his marriage with Bertha, was constrained to give way on another point, and to abandon Gerbert, who took refuge in Germany with the heir of the kings he had served. There it was, in the year 997,[1] between the conclusion of the war with the Slaves and the approaching return of the Emperor to Italy, that, after a discussion as to the means of distinguishing, according to Aristotle, the faculty of reason and the use of reason, the young prince, thinking the ignorance on such a question a reproach to the sacred palace, commissioned Gerbert to write an exhaustive treatise on the subject.[2] Being delayed by sickness and the care of the affairs in which he was engaged, Gerbert only fulfilled this task some months after, having followed beyond the Alps, the young prince whom he was to leave no more while he lived, and to whom he dedicated his dissertation, *De rationali et ratione uti*, to prove to Italy, says he, that the sacred palace was not idle, and that not Greece alone should boast of the philosophy of its emperors and of their rights over Rome. 'To us,' he exclaims, 'belongs the Roman Empire. Italy is fruitful in corn and wine; Gaul and Germany fruitful in fighting men. Thou art our Cæsar Augustus Emperor of the Romans, in whose veins runs the noblest blood of Greece, superior to the Greeks in power, commander of the Romans by hereditary right, and superior to both in the possession of genius and eloquence."[2] It is in-

[1] 'Cum in Germania ferventioris anni tempus dimoraremur.'—(*Anecdot. Thesauri Novissimi*, vol. i. part ii. page 140.)

[2] 'Vestra quoque divina providentia ignorantiam sacro palatio indignam

teresting to note the turn of mind which led the learned men of this age to imagine the existence of a Roman Empire established by the descendants of Herman and Witikind. The young Emperor was not delayed in this new progress into Italy, even by the winter. He came to Pavia, accompanied by his army, to celebrate the feast of Christmas, and visiting Cremona only, he caused the disputes between the bishop and the people to be judged in his presence by the Margrave Otho. He marched thence to Ravenna, which he found tranquil, and the archbishopric of which was soon after given to his faithful Gerbert. Then, after having indulged his adventurous curiosity by visiting Venice in disguise, and almost unattended, he arrived under the walls of Rome, carrying Gregory V. at the head of his army. Whether the defenders of the other Pope lacked zeal, or whether the number of the German lances made any attempt on their part hopeless, the city of Rome made no effort to resist. Crescentius and his friends despairing of defending it, had thrown themselves into the castle of St. Angelo, and there fortified themselves. Otho was master of the city.

The Greek pope, who had escaped, was taken in his flight, shamefully mutilated by the Romans themselves, and cast all bleeding at the feet of the Emperor. The young prince would have spared him, but the German pope, in his rage against an opponent, tore his clothes off his body, and had him ignominiously paraded through the city mounted backwards on an ass, with the animal's tail in his hand. He was afterwards put

judicans, ea quæ de rationali et ratione uti diverso modo a diversis objectabantur, me discutere imperavit.'—(*Anecdotorum Thesauri Novissimi.*)

to death. Crescentius, meantime, was closely besieged in the castle of St. Angelo; the fortress was invested on all sides, battered by warlike engines, and frequently attacked by assault. He gave in at the end of two months, vanquished by main force, say the Germans; deceived by false promises, and a convention that was violated, as the Italians will have it. What seems to give colour to the latter statement is, that the Germans, even in their writings intended to prove the contrary, speak of a conference, and of a treaty commenced. According to them, Crescentius, being reduced to extremity, secretly quitted his tower, and, being, by the intercession of some German chiefs, received into the presence of Otho, fell at his feet, and asked his life of the conqueror, who, being displeased at the pity exhibited by those around him, exclaimed, 'How is it that ye allow the Prince of the Romans, the elector of emperors, the consecrator of popes, thus to enter the huts of the Saxon? Lead him back to the throne of his magnificence, that we may be permitted to prepare him a reception worthy of him.'[1] Then refusing to hear a word, he had him led back to the castle of St. Angelo, in order to have the satisfaction of taking it by assault. In this surprising confidence, attributed to the Roman consul, in this conference followed by a fight, we may possibly detect the palliated record, the

[1] 'Quadam igitur die, quibusdam de imperatoris exercitu consentientibus, egrediens latenter Crescentius de turre, scilicet birro indutus et operto capite, veniensque improvistus corruit ad imperatoris pedes, orans sibi imperatoris pietate vitam servari. Quem cum respexisset imperator, conversus ad suos, ut erat amaro animo, dixit: "Cur, inquiens, Romanorum Principem, imperatorum decretorem datoremque legum, ordinatorem pontificum, intrare sinistis mapalia Saxonum? Nunc quoque reducite eum ad thronum suæ sublimitatis."'—(Glaber Rodolphus, lib. i. ch. iv.)

involuntary admission of an ambuscade, into which Crescentius was drawn, and which is attested by a grave writer of the eleventh century, Peter Damian, who, charging Otho with perfidy, cites the name of the negotiator and close confidant of the prince, who had promised a safe conduct to Crescentius by oath, and in the king's name.[1] However it be, the master of Rome was implacable; and when he had to decide the fate of Crescentius, who had fallen wounded and a prisoner into the hands of the Germans, who by force or fraud had got into his tower, the wrathful Otho bid his soldiers 'to cast him from its summit over the walls, so that,' said he, 'the Romans may not accuse us of stealing their king from them;'[2] then, after his corpse had been fastened to the tails of oxen and dragged along the banks of the Tiber, he had it hung on a gibbet, with twelve of his principal adherents, in view of the whole city. The ironical and fierce anger of this prince, the son of a Greek and a barbarian, may be traced even in the official acts of his reign. In a charter, a deed of gift to an abbey in Germany, we read, under the imperial seal of Otho, these words, 'Done at Rome, the year Crescentius was beheaded and hanged.'[3] In this manner of dating

[1] 'Crescentius namque senator Romanus indignationem regis incurrens, in montem qui dicitur Sancti Angeli confugium petiit, et quia munitio inexpugnabilis est, obsidente rege ad defendendum se fiducialiter præparavit. Cui tum unus ex præcepto regis jusjurandum securitatis præstitit, et ille deceptus adnitente Papa, qui urbi inimicus erat, quasi reus majestatis capitalem sententian subiit.'—(Petr. Damian *Oper.* pars. ii. p. 234.)

[2] 'Per superiora propugnacula illum dejicite, ne dicant Romani suum principem vos furatos fuisse.'—(Rodolphus Glaber, *Op.* cap. v.)

[3] 'Actum Romæ quando Crescentius decollatus et suspensus fuit.'—(Amon. Gorhaic. lib. ii. p. 224.)

from an execution, there is something, doubtless, that marks the importance of the victim, as well as the conqueror's resentment.

In re-establishing Gregory V., Otho took care to strengthen the temporalities of the Church. By an edict addressed to the Roman senate and people, as well as to the archbishops, abbots, marquises, and counts, throughout Italy, he revoked and forbade the alienation of ecclesiastical property. At the same time, Gregory V. obtained a judgment of the senate, in virtue of which, he obtained the restitution of divers estates that had been taken from the pontifical possession, during the late disorders in Rome. In a council which he held this year, he pronounced sentence in the cause of Robert, King of France, and annulled his marriage, under pain of excommunication. Gerbert, who had a seat in this council, as Archbishop of Ravenna, was the first who subscribed the King's sentence, who had formerly sacrificed him, in the hope of mollifying the court of Rome. A still greater compensation was in store for Gerbert. The chair of Saint Peter became vacant by the unlooked-for death of Gregory V. in the flower of his age; and the Emperor's favourite, the new Archbishop of Ravenna, was elected pope, and took the name of Sylvester II., evidently in allusion to the young Otho as a second Constantine. The former secretary of the council of Basle, on becoming pope, became also indued with the spirit of the Roman pontificate. One of his first acts was a letter confirming in his see Arnulph, whose fall he had hastened, and whose spoils he had won. 'It appertains,' wrote he to him, 'to the supreme apostolic dignity, not only to watch over

sinners, but to raise up them that have fallen, and to render to those who have been deprived of their rank the brightness of their former dignity, so that Peter have full power to loose, and that the glory of Rome shine in every place; wherefore, we have judged it well to come to thy help, Arnulph, Archbishop of Rheims, who wert deprived, on account of thy faults, of the honours of the pontificate; so that thy abdication having been made without the consent of Rome, it may be made evident, that thou can'st be re-established by the clemency of Rome. Such is truly the sovereign authority of Peter, which no mortal power can equal. Thus, then, we grant thee, in accordance with this privilege, and with the crosier and mitre that are restored to thee, the fulness of the archiepiscopal ministry, and the enjoyment of all the honours that belong according to custom to the archbishopric of the holy Church of Rheims. We bestow on thee the pallium in all solemnities, that thou bless the Frank kings and the bishops that are under thy authority, and that thou exercise by our apostolic authority, all the powers that thy predecessors have possessed. We further ordain, that none soever, in synod or elsewhere, shall dare to reproach thee with thy abdication, that, on the contrary, our authority shall protect thee in all circumstances, even against the accusations of thy own conscience. We confirm and concede to thee the archbishopric of Rheims in its entirety, with all the bishoprics and monasteries that are subject to it; the people, churches, chapels, châteaux, and villages, and other things belonging to the Church of Rheims, in virtue of the inviolable testament of blessed Remi, the

apostle of France, decreeing by the power apostolic, in the name of God, and under threats of excommunication, that it shall not be permitted on account of the pontiffs my successors, or any other person, great or small, to infringe the present privilege; and should anyone, which God forbid, seek to violate this decree of Rome, cursed may he be.'

Meantime, the young Emperor, having by the counsels of his new pope, and the assistance of the faithful Hugh, Margrave of Tuscany, re-established order in the Roman states, visited Beneventum, exiled the Prince of Capua, who was suspected of murdering his brother; replaced him by a vassal of his choice, and would, doubtless, have undertaken something against the Greeks, who were masters of Sicily and part of Auplia, and who were seeking to obtain the friendship of Venice by alliances and investitures. But Otho was recalled to Germany by the loss of two great supporters of his power.

When, accompanied by his most eminent counsellors, he had set out for Italy, he left the regency to his great-aunt Matilda, Abbess of Quedlimburg, but who had, as a worthy daughter of Otho the Great, long been accustomed to the care of public affairs. Having acquired very powerful influence over all by her rigid virtue, and great piety, Matilda had just died, with a reputation for wisdom and almost inspired prescience, which the Germans were delighted to recognise and venerate in a woman. Another prop of the imperial family, Adelaide, the widow of the Emperor Otho, who had ruled with glory after his death, no longer cared for the things of the world. Having survived

her daughter-in-law, Theophania, all desire for power seemed to have died with the young rival who had contended with her for it. In the latter years of her life, she travelled incessantly, visiting monasteries she had founded, scattering alms, and remembering the empire only in her prayers. She went to the kingdom of Burgundy, her former home, to restore peace among the vassals of her nephew, King Adolphus. Then she passed to Valois, to visit the spot consecrated by the memory of the Theban legion.[1] She was still there, and was praying in the church dedicated to the great martyr, Saint Maurice, when she received a message from Italy[2] announcing the taking of Rome, and, at the same time, the death of one of the prelates who had crossed the Alps with Otho, the Bishop of Worms, for whose virtue she had a special reverence. She was visibly troubled, and called one of her people to come and pray with her for the departed prelate; she exclaimed, with an emotion that revealed all her thoughts: 'What shall be done, now, O God! for him who is our lord king, and my grandson? Many shall perish in Italy with him; and, afterwards, I fear me, this Otho, the son of emperors, shall likewise perish; and I shall be left alone, and without any human help. Grant, O God! lord of ages, that I may not live to see that day.'[3] She went thence to Lausanne, to visit

[1] 'Locum Auganensium petiit, ubi rupes felicissima martyrum millia retinet corpora.'—(*Vita Adheleides apud Corrisium*, vol. iii. p. 78.)

[2] 'Cum enim ab illo sacro loco egressura, et secum staret in angulo ecclesiæ, orationis gratia, quidam nuncius venit ad eam *de Italia, Franconem Wangionensem episcopum* nunciavit Romæ fuisse defunctum.'—(*Ibid.*)

[3] 'Et quia vir boni testimonii erat, domina Augusta valde illum diligebat, sicut et omnes bonos diligere solita erat. Et statim ut ejus obitum audivit, ex familiaribus, qui aderant, unum vocavit et ut pro eo Domino preces

the shrine of the martyr Victor, thence to Geneva; then, remembering Cluny, she gave money to restore a monastery of Saint Martin, a dependency of that order, which had been destroyed by fire; she gave rich presents too, and added, for the decoration of the altar of the Saint, half of the royal mantle of her only son, Otho II., sending the same to the abbot with this message: "Receive, thou priest of God, and in his name, these offerings from Adelaide, the servant of servants. and a sinner, empress by the gift of God. Receive, likewise, a portion of the mantle of my only son, the Emperor Otho, and ask pardon for him of Jesus Christ, whom thou hast so often clothed in the persons of his poor, with whom divide this tunic." [1] Shortly after this, Adelaide having performed her accustomed devotions on the anniversary of the death of this, her son, Otho II., worn out with languor, died in an ecstacy of fervent piety, on the Christmas day that began the year 1000 of our era.

This date of 1000 had been looked forward to in the middle ages with fear and trembling. New invasions added to this terror in Germany. Otho, anxious to put an end to them, quitted Rome on receiving the news of his grandmother's death, and re-crossed the Alps, taking with him, as counsellor, or

effundefet humiliter rogavit. "Quid faciam, Domine, vel quid dicam de illo seniore nostro et nepote mea? Peribunt, ut credo, in Italia multi cum eo, peribit post ipsos, ut timeo, heu! misera! Augustæ indolis Otto: remanebo omni humano destituta solatio. Absit, O Domine, rex seculorum, ut videam superstes tam lugubrè dispendium." '—(*Ibid.* p. 79.)

[1] 'Obsecro, charissime, obsecro, ut ita alloquaris sanctissimum confessorem meo obsequio: "Accipe, sacerdos Dei, parva munuscula, quæ tibi delegavit Adalheida servorum Dei ancilla, ex se peccatrix, dono Dei imperatrix. Accipe unici mei Ottonis Augusti chlamydis partem, et ora pro eo ad ipsum quem veste divisa vestiti in paupere Christum." '—(*Ibid.*)

rather as a hostage, the archdeacon of the Roman Church, and several cardinals and nobles. The young Emperor performed this expedition for the security of his dominions with marvellous rapidity. Descending from the Alps through Bavaria, to Ratisbon, on the Danube, he crossed Nordgan, Franconia, and Voigtland, to Zeit, on the shores of the Elster; then traversing Misnia to the Elbe, which he crossed, he advanced to Gnesen, the capital of the ancient duchy of Poland, into which he was conducted with all honours by Boleslas, to whom he had sent the title of King, from Rome. The young Emperor came thither to perform a pious duty, to venerate the remains of Adalbert, Bishop of Gnesen, who had been killed three years before, while preaching the Gospel to the heathen in the parts adjacent, and from whom the mutilated body was purchased by Boleslas. As soon as Otho came in sight of the city where rested the remains of Adalbert, he walked thither barefoot, with all his suite, Saxon and Roman; and being conducted to the church by the new bishop, he wept and prayed long by the martyr's tomb; and then, with that kind of religious authority which the kings of Germany took back with them from Rome, he changed the bishopric of Gnesen into an archbishopric, 'rightfully, as I hope,' says the German chronicler; and he nominated to this new archbishopric the brother of the martyr Adalbert, placing under his jurisdiction the ancient bishoprics of Colbert, Cracow, and Breslau.

Then, having received from his vassal rich presents and the more acceptable offering of 300 horsemen armed with cuirasses, he returned, with Boleslas in his

train, to Magdeburg, and thence to the town of Quedlemburg, near the royal abbey where Matilda had just died while administering the government of Germany. Otho there celebrated the feast of Easter, surrounded by a goodly company of nobles, and there held a synod to try his father's old favourite, Gesler, Archbishop of Magdeburg, who had not long before been worsted in a battle with the Slaves, and failing to make his way into the town of Bernburg, which they had set on fire, was called on to vindicate himself from his defeats in war and his encroachments on the Church of Halberstadt. A languishing sickness which attacked the prelate served as an excuse for his absence, and the enquiry was deferred to the next sitting of the diet. Otho, then traversing Saxony, and reaching the left bank of the Rhine, came to hold this diet in Aix-la-Chapelle, the ancient city of Charlemagne. The young prince seemed to propose this great example as his model, while he sought at the same time to revive the ancient customs and the former pomp of the Cæsars of Rome and Byzantium. These endeavours were variously estimated. It was remarked that, instead of the simplicity of the ancient Teutonic chiefs, who sat at the same long tables as their companions in arms, the young Emperor had a semi-circular table, at which he took his place alone on a raised seat. When he visited Aix-la-Chapelle for the first time, he desired to look on the remains of Charlemagne, and caused the tomb to be opened, where was then seen the body of the prince on a throne, and clad in the imperial robes. A cross of gold was hanging from his neck; Otho took it, with some portion of the royal robe, and

then closed the sepulchre ;[1] but this curiosity appeared to his contemporaries a sacrilege that would certainly draw down the anger of heaven. And when the wonders seen in the tomb of the great emperor by Otho were related, it was added that Charlemagne had appeared to him and foretold his approaching death. That early death was not so near but that Otho had time to go and seek it in the land of Italy, which had already been so fatal to his father. Having left Aix-la-Chapelle by the South of Germany, and the Rhetian Alps, he returned to Rome the same year, to pass the feast of Christmas, bringing back with him the Roman nobles who, following in his train, had, in the course of a few months, looked on the wild forests of Poland, and the distant, and already flourishing, cities on the banks of the Rhine. On his arrival, the Pope Sylvester II. held a synod, in which Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, and formerly Otho's tutor, who had accompanied him on this last journey, caused to be pronounced as unlawful, the encroachment made on his diocese by Wilheghese, Archbishop of Mayence, and the king's favourite counsellor.

While Rome thus echoed to the ecclesiastical trials of her masters, the native rebellions that had so often marked the presence of the Germans with blood, still smouldered. Never did any emperor, says a chronicle, in speaking of Otho, enter or quit Rome with greater glory. But this glory did not shield him; the city of Tibur,[2] having once more become, as in the time

[1] 'Crucem auream, quæ in collo ejus pendebat, cum vestimentorum parte adhuc imputribilium, sumens cætera cum veneratione magna reposuit.'—(Ditmar. *Epis. Chron.* lib. iv. p. 44.)

[2] The most faithful of all Otho's great vassals in southern Italy was

of Aucus or the first consuls, an almost independent and rival power of the City of Rome, whose tolls it intercepted and whose lands it harassed, was the first to revolt. Being besieged by the German troops, swelled, no doubt, by the Roman soldiery, it defended itself with a degree of vigour that set an example to all Italy. But the Pope Sylvester II., having offered himself as a mediator and made his way into the midst of the people, persuaded them to submit. The principal inhabitants, naked to the waist, with a sword in one hand and a scourge in the other, went of their own accord to the Emperor's tent, submitting themselves to him to be scourged, or put to death, according to his pleasure, and promising obedience if he spared their lives. Otho showed them mercy, and neither threw down their walls

Hugh, Marquis of Tuscany, and grandson of Hugh, who was King of Italy before Berenger. His father, who had been an object of suspicion to the conquerors, at the period of Otho the Great's accession, was for a long time banished from Italy. The son, who had grown up under their sway, inspired them with more confidence, and Otho II. made him Marquis of Tuscany, a powerful fief, to which Theophania added the duchy of Spoleto and the title of Duke of Rome, which appears to have been only nominal during the duration of the power of Crescentius. Without ever having risen against the foreign master, by whom he had been invested with his possessions, Hugh had made himself beloved by the Italians. In these times, when the military chiefs of provinces, and even the bishops, were so exacting and cruel, he used his power for the good of the people only, and was constantly occupied in ameliorating their condition. He often travelled through his principality, sending his escort of men-at-arms forward, and alone and unknown, he visited the labourers and shepherds—putting such questions to them as these: 'What do they say of the margrave? Is he harsh and cruel? Does he not oppress the poor people, and drain the country?' 'Oh! no, no!' the poor people, who were happier there than anywhere else in Italy, would reply: 'You speak falsely. There is not to be found such another good seigneur.' And then they wished him long life for the sake of the poor. This popular approval rejoiced the heart of the margrave; and he used to say, in words that have become proverbial, 'I desire to live on such good terms with the peasantry that what falls from my horses' manger may go to feed their pigs.'

nor revoked their privileges. This moderation seems to have exasperated the Romans, who regarded Tibur as a dependency on the duchy of Rome. A rising immediately broke out in the city, which closed its gates; many of the Emperor's adherents were slain, and he himself was assailed in the palace which he occupied, and which, out of the precaution which had been so often justified, was chosen without the walls of Rome. In the surprise of this attack, the Bishop Bernward himself appeared in the foremost rank, brandishing in a terrible manner the holy lance that had so long been preserved in Germany.[1] The young Emperor, we are told, addressed the Romans from the battlements of his palace, reproaching them that, for their sake he had left his friends and country, forsaken the Saxons and other Germans, and even his own kindred. 'I have led you,' said he, 'to the utmost bounds of your empire, whither your fathers, when the world was theirs, never set foot. I have adopted you in preference to all, and have thereby stirred up hatred against myself; and as a reward for all these things, you have slain my friends, and me you have shut out.'[2]

These singular words will be thought, perhaps, to have been invented by some learned chronicler, who deluded himself with the idea that the Roman empire

[1] 'Adversus hostem certamen instruunt, ipso antistiti cum sanctâ hastâ terribiliter fulminante.'—(Trangman: *Vita Bernwardi, in Leibnitii Scrip. Rer. Brunswick.* vol. i.)

[2] 'Amore vestro meos Saxones et cunctos Theoticos sanguinem meum projeci, vos in remotas partes imperii vestri adduxi, quo patres vestri, cùm orbem ditione premerent, nunquam pedem posuerunt. Vos filios adoptavi, vos cunctis prætuli. Caussa vestri, dum vos omnibus præposui, universorum in me invidiam commovi et odium. Et nunc pro omnibus his patrem vestrum objecistis, familiares meos crudeli morte interemistis, me exclusistis.' —(*Vita Bernward.* vol. i.)

still existed; but they are cited by a spectator of the fight; and we must bear in mind that the youthful Otho in some measure believed the fiction they express, that indeed he believed in it so far as to wound the pride of his own followers by the adoption of foreign manners. We cannot be sure, moreover, what was the effect of Otho's resistance and words. According to the report of the same witness, zealous probably for the honour of his prince, the repentant Romans gave in, and delivered into the Emperor's hands two of their own leaders, maltreated and half dead. But other accounts state that Otho was only delivered from his assailants by the assistance of the Margrave Hugh, and Henry, Duke of Bavaria, who, as we shall see, afterwards succeeded him. What renders this the more likely termination is, that Otho left Rome with the Pope, and fixed his residence in the duchy of Spoleto, where the German dominion was firmly established. But the death of the Margrave Hugh, very soon after, deprived him of his most faithful supporter, and the young prince felt himself languishing even unto death.

On his first arrival in Italy, he, following his father's and grandfather's designs, had sent to Constantinople to ask in marriage the hand of a Greek princess, niece of the Emperors Basil and Constantine, who then reigned. He despatched this embassy with the greatest pomp, confiding it to the Archbishop of Milan. But the answer came too late; whether his natural constitution was weak, or whether his early possession of the empire consumed his strength, he fell into a mortal languor, which his contemporaries attributed to a

poison which the widow of Crescentius, after having submitted to his desire, gave him, they said, out of revenge. But he appears to have been, in the latter years of his life, more especially tried by the austerities of penance. He had declared, on visiting a holy hermit at Ravenna, that he should quit the empire for the cloister, and when at the last he withdrew to the castle of Paterna, near Spoleto, he took no other title than that of Servant of the Apostles; just as humble when near his end, as he had been proud and enterprising when he first came to the empire.

His death, which took place in the twenty-second year of his age, unchained all the hatred which the German dominion had infused into the hearts of the Italians, and that neither time nor success had been able to root out. The leading German chiefs who were the witnesses of his death, foreseeing its effect on the public mind, kept it concealed till they had assembled the greater number of the German troops dispersed in the neighbouring provinces; and then began their march to bear away the body of their king from that land of Italy so fatal to his race. They were harassed throughout this retreat by the Roman soldiers and other Italians that rose on their passage, and they had to fight their way for some days, till they drew near to Verona, where the Margrave Otho commanded.

From the Death of Otho III. to Gregory VII.

There was, doubtless, in the early deaths of the two Othos, more especially in that of the last, cut down in

his youth, and childless, something that seemed sent by God to raise the courage of the Italians, to tell them that the dominion of the men of the North was drawing to its end, and that a final effort was soon to crush it for ever. The Germans themselves seem to have been under the same impression. Though the Othos possessed, like Charlemagne, the love of glory and of the arts, they had not, like him, the genius that founds empires; besides they died early, and their successive reigns could not achieve what the powerful unity of Charlemagne's long reign accomplished. They had not found means either of freeing the Roman Church and attaching it to them, nor of establishing near it a powerful sovereignty which depended on them.

On the death of Otho, the kingdom of Italy seemed again to become free and separated from Germany. Without waiting to see what would be done at Aix-la-Chapelle or Mayence, and while the council of the young Emperor was wending its way to the Alps, the bishops and great vassals of Lombardy, in a national diet held at Pavia, under Otho II., but without the Duke of Carinthia, Margrave of Verona, and without any seigneur from beyond the Alps, elected king of Italy Ardouin, Marquis of Ivray, of Piedmontese descent, who was immediately crowned by Guy, Bishop of Pavia, twenty-four days after the death of Otho.

The remains of the Emperor were, meantime, carried by his faithful soldiers to Bavaria, where the Duke Henry, with his bishops and counts, came out to receive the body of his seigneur and cousin, and lavished every care on the little German army, so worn out by their

long march. He himself accompanied the corpse to Augsburg, where the parts of the body it was usual to remove, were religiously deposited in the basilica of Saint Afre; he then left the procession, which bore the remains to Aix-la-Chapelle.

But while he loaded with presents the seigneurs who came back from Italy with the dead prince, he made them deliver to him the insignia of the empire which Otho had bequeathed to Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne, and made all haste into Saxony to procure his election in the assembly of that duchy. The blood of the Othos pleaded in his favour, and he found many supporters in an assembly that was held at Werla, in the north of Saxony, and at which Eckart, Margrave of Misnia, presented himself as a candidate. His frequent encounters with the Slave nations had distinguished him as the bravest of the chiefs of the Germanic confederation. But Eckart was not a duke, and though he had vanquished and reduced to vassalage the Dukes of Bohemia and Poland, his ambition to be king created surprise. In a primary assembly of the Saxon nobles, which was formed under the presidency of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Margrave Lotta earnestly begged the Archbishop not to decide anything before the Diet of Werla; and when Eckart in an imperious manner said, 'Count, why do you oppose me?' the other replied, 'Count, yourself, do you not perceive that a fourth wheel is wanted to your chariot?' Rejected at Werla, for the same reason, joined to the influence of the sisters of Otho, the Margrave, who withdrew in great anger with the Duke Bernard, carried off the princesses' dinners as a joke

and hastened elsewhere to stimulate the people. But not far from Nordem, where he had been hospitably received in the Margrave's house, he was assassinated in the night by the son of that seigneur, who had followed in pursuit of him, to avenge, so it is said, the insult offered to the princesses, by taking his life.

While this rampart of the kingdom on its northern frontier was thus removed by death, another candidate for the throne appeared in southern Germany.

Hermann, Duke of Suabia and Alsace, being proclaimed king by the seigneurs assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, marched forward with an army to bar the passage of the Rhine to Henry, near Worms. But he, having made a feint of withdrawing his forces, crossed the river at another part, and arrived at Mayence, where he was crowned by the archbishop, Wilheghese. After his coronation, Henry had still only the votes of two provinces, Bavaria and Saxony, with Mayence and some towns in the states of his competitors.

But while the Duke Hermann was besieging Strasburg and Bressac, which had declared for Henry, the new king, traversing the devastated district of Alsace, had been acknowledged in Franconia and Thuringia, and went to Saxony to have his election confirmed in a solemn diet at Merseburg, where, in presence of the archbishop, dukes, and margraves of the province, among whom was the haughty Lotta, he took an oath to infringe in nothing the laws of the Saxons, and to govern them with mildness; thence he repaired to Duisburg, and procured his election by the Estates of Lorraine, on making a similar promise to maintain their rights, and they afterwards accompanied him

with great pomp to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was seated on the throne of Charlemagne, and proclaimed king of the Teutonic nations, seven months from the day on which Italy, free from German domination, had crowned a king of her own at Verona. Elected thus, without the assembling of a general diet, by the successive votes of five of the Germanic states, having had still to obtain either the suffrage or the submission of Suabia, his competitor's duchy, Hermann yielded, came to Frankfort to acknowledge the new king, and died a few months afterwards of grief and shame.

In all the delays and troubles attending his election, Henry did not lose sight of Italy, and by his orders Otho, Duke of Carinthia, endeavoured to enter the country, in order to join the enemies of its new king; for the Saxons had so long held Upper Italy, which had been formerly conquered by the Lombards, that the two races of the same origin had left behind them many who were favourable to the German dominion; the superior clergy especially: Arnulph, Archbishop of Milan, who had returned from his fruitless embassy to Constantinople, Frederic, Archbishop of Ravenna, Teuson, Bishop of Verona, and even some prelates who had at first been favourable to the king.

Guy, Bishop of Pavia; Sigefried, Bishop of Piacenza; Landulph, Bishop of Brescia; Olderic, Bishop of Cremona, all Germans in heart and name, were ready either to fight or to abandon Ardouin.

But the new king had foreseen this, and, master of the Adige, he waited for Otho in the plains of Verona, and falling on the German army under the Margrave, with troops superior in number, he put it to flight.

This defeat deferred for a time the enterprise of Germany against Italy. A great support was about to be taken from the former. The pope, Sylvester II., who had quitted Rome with Otho, and remained with him till he breathed his last, never returned, according to all appearance, to the city which rose against his power, and the memory of the young Emperor. Whether he remained in Tuscany, or whether he followed the retreat of the German troops from Lombardy, his days drew fast to their close, and he survived his pupil, the Emperor, but a year.

During his short pontificate, the close of which was so troubled, Gerbert never neglected his early studies, not even those which, in the spirit of the time, seemed the least suited to engage the meditation of the successor of Saint Peter. The few men who at that time studied some elements of the mathematical science, consulted him and received replies. We have still a letter addressed to the Lord Sylvester, sovereign pontiff, and great philosopher, in which Adelbold, who calls himself a student, asks him what is the diameter of a sphere in proportion to its circumference; after some arguments, he writes: 'If, in all this, I deceive myself, do, I pray you, lead me back into the way of truth; if I am already in it, I entreat you out of the darkness through which I still stumble, to illuminate my path by the light of your approbation.' It was, doubtless, the first time a Pope had been appealed to to decide a scientific truth. Sylvester's solution of this easy problem has not been preserved; but another letter from him to Adelbold was written to give the causes of inequality in the areas of the equilateral triangle. These early endeavours to

revive the taste for this sublime science, and to recover possession of its elements, give us the explanation of the fables invented by Gerbert's contemporaries. In a treatise on geometry which he wrote, recommending the use of that science to all the lovers of wisdom, he says that it has a marvellous power of exercising the faculties of the soul, and the mind; and is full of profound speculations, which lead men to understand, to admire, and to celebrate, in the wonders of nature, the power and ineffable wisdom of the Creator, who has disposed all things according to number, weight, and measure. But the simple problems contained in this little work, the instructions for measuring a tower by the shadow it casts, for calculating the depth of a well, the extent of a field, and the number of grains in a heap of corn, were looked on as the inventions of magic by contemporaries, and from that impression, joined to the sudden and obscure death of Gerbert, arose the vague tradition that he had a demon, by whose assistance he worked wondrous spells. The party that was opposed to the Emperor repeated this fable, and we meet with it again, as put forth by a partisan of the empire itself, who traces from Gerbert a whole school of magicians, who had given themselves up to the devil, and places Gregory VII., among them. The Church of Rome, however, gloried in Gerbert, and did not give him the name of anti-pope, by which it had so often stigmatised the pontiffs that were imposed on it by the empire. Six years after his death, one of his successors, Sergius, consecrated a tomb to him in the Basilica of Lateran, and there still rest the ashes of that ancient adversary of Rome. The epitaph, while it chronicled the celebrity of

Gerbert and his elevation to the Sees of Rheims, Ravenna, and finally Rome, said that the sovereign pontificate was bestowed on him by the Cæsar Otho III., whom he only too well pleased by his fidelity.[1]

He was succeeded within a short space of time by two pontiffs, one after the other, who were Romans by birth, and the Church of Rome thought it had recovered its right to elect its own chief. But this right depended on the fate of upper Italy, over which a new storm was gathering. Henry, acknowledged king, and delivered from his rivals, had to repair the defeat of the Margrave Otho, and to recover the crown of Italy. Complaints began to arise against the Marquis of Ivray, made king, and the absent power was regretted, at least by some nobles whom a petty sovereign of their own nation could not satisfy, and who hoped more from a king of Germany. Of this number was Tedald, Seigneur of the castle of Canossa, and his son, the Marquis Boniface; others of the great vassals entered into the plot, which the archbishop fostered with all his power. In the second year of his reign, Henry, with whom the Bishop of Verona had taken refuge, and who had received the messages and offers of the Archbishop Arnulph, and the Margrave Tedald, marched into Italy by way of Trent, with a numerous army of Lorrainers, Franconians, and Suabians. But on that side the gorges of the mountains protecting the Adige were strongly guarded, and Henry directed his march some leagues further in the direction of Carinthia, whose heights he manned with the inhabitants, and passing by difficult but ill-de-

[1] 'Cui nimium placuit sociali mente fidelis, obtulit hoc Cæsar tertius Otto sibi.'

fended roads, he suddenly arrived with the *élite* of his army on the Brenta. There he stopped to celebrate the ceremonies of Holy Week; for he would not, he said, shed the blood of men in the days their Maker had suffered for them. The greater number of the bishops of this frontier, were then either in flight, or assembled about Henry, and his tents became the place where the feast of Easter was celebrated with the most pomp and ceremony. The Archbishop of Cologne gave the communion, and Henry, having published his ban royal, decreeing death to any who should forsake his banner, crossed the Brenta without opposition, and stopped to await new defections on the part of the enemy. In effect, the army of Ardouin, divided by the mutual hatred of its leaders, dispersed without ever fighting, and he, seeing himself thus betrayed, and not being able to count on anything but a few garrisoned fortresses, retired without a struggle to his fief of Piedmont. Henry entered Verona as a conqueror, and the Marquis Tedald and other seigneurs joined his ranks at Bergamo. He received the oath of fealty from the Archbishop of Milan, and still, without fighting, he arrived at Pavia, where he was crowned by the bishops and nobles, amid the acclamations of the throng that filled the church. But outside the same building, hate of the foreigners, indignation at his easy conquest, the remembrance of the defeat of the Margrave Otho, were all burning in men's hearts, and the drunkenness attendant on a fête added to their rage. When the King and his court had returned to his palace without the city walls, a violent sedition broke out in Pavia. The people, armed with stones and lances, rushed to the palace to break in the

gates, while the greater number of the German troops were still dispersed in the town, or quartered with their horses in the castles in its vicinity. The disorder was great; the attack terrible : a brother of the Queen, even, was wounded, and the King in the midst of his bishops and some few knights would have had his palace forced in the night, but for the desperate resistance of those around him, and the prompt diversion effected by his troops, who rushed from all quarters to defend the palace and to attack the city. At daybreak, the inhabitants, who had been driven within their walls, and had been pursued thither, still defended themselves: but the soldiers, galled by the arrows that were shot at them from the roofs, set fire to the houses, and the flames spread through the city, that was then given up to murder and pillage. Great part of Pavia was destroyed, and the King, who had in vain made some efforts to stay the devastation, left the smoking ruins, and awaited, in a neighbouring fortress, the submission that resulted from the terrors of this example. He, however, took no advantage of them to advance further into Italy then ; he only visited Milan, 'whose freedom of speech and gentle manners,' to use the singular phraseology of the German chronicle, he loved ; and leaving the rest of the inhabitants of the duchy of Pavia to mourn over the ruin of their city in ashes, he piously celebrated the feast of Pentecost, at Cremona, and took the road to Germany, by Mont Cenis ; traversing Alsace and Suabia, in order to reach Saxony, and to fight the Slave tribes of Poland and Bohemia.

The expedition, in which the soldiery of the eastern Franks took part, was fixed for the middle of August,

after the harvest. While Henry was preparing for the war, his competitor in Lombardy had already been recalled by the wretched inhabitants of Pavia; and the hatred which the cruelties of the Germans had excited, gave him new partisans. Ardouin could not wholly restore the ruins of Pavia, but he reigned there, and maintained his power in a portion of upper Italy; while Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, Como, in a word all those places whose bishops were devoted to Henry, continued to acknowledge his authority; but they profited by his absence to increase the municipal liberties which laid the foundation of the Lombard republics in the middle ages. The rest of Italy also felt the effects of the absence of the Germans. Though Tuscany had sent an embassy to do homage to the destroyer of Pavia, it formed itself into an independent State. Rome, under the authority of a patrice and a prefect, who was a son of Crescentius, and bore the same name, governed herself, and had successively, as Popes, freely elected, John XVIII., and Sergius. But on the death of the latter, a new Pope, of German descent, Benedict VIII., was elected in opposition to another Roman cleric, Gregory, who was supported by some Roman barons, and soon after his exaltation, Benedict was attacked by main force and driven out of Rome by his rival.

Then appeared once more the evil of that Roman anarchy which recalled the foreigner to her walls, when he dwelt afar or delayed his coming. Eight years had elapsed since the sack of Pavia, and Henry, satisfied with taking the title of King of Italy, and with distributing some fiefs in the neighbourhood of the Lombard towns, had not crossed the mountains again.

Benedict VIII., being driven by force from the Papal chair, came to him for protection, with the offer of the empire, that object of ambition to every King of Germany. The monarch, who was then celebrating the feast of Christmas at Palitsch, welcomed the Pontiff, and the following autumn, he moved at the head of a numerous army, through the Tyrol, and marched on Pavia, which the King Ardouin made no attempt to defend.

Thence, Henry went to Ravenna, whose archbishop, so faithful to his cause, had died during the interregnum, and had been replaced by another. Henry set him aside, appointing him to an obscure bishopric in the neighbourhood, and appointed to the important see of Ravenna a prince of his family, his own brother Arnold, and then advanced to Rome, which offered no more resistance than Ravenna. Whether it were that Benedict VIII. had treated beforehand with the King of Germany, and invited his presence by his own concessions; or whether he despaired of opposing any obstacle to his entrance into the city, Henry was welcomed on his approach to its gates by a procession of warriors and priests, who went out to meet him and offer their homage; the Pontiff, who carried in his hand a small golden globe surmounted by a cross, presented it to the Prince as a symbol of the empire of the world. Henry received it, saying, that such an emblem was more fitting for those who cast all worldly grandeur beneath their feet in order to follow the cross of Christ, and sent it as an offering to the monastery of Cluny. But this humility only made him appear still more worthy of the empire, and the Pope, tired, no

doubt, of the turbulent protection of the Roman nobles, was eager solemnly to confer the title of Emperor, which had for twelve years lain in abeyance, and from which he intended to obtain new privileges and new safeguards for the Church.

The ceremony was performed with a strange mixture of Christian rites and antique Roman observances. The King of Germany, with his wife Cunegund, came to the church attended by twelve senators, six of whom wore long beards, supporting themselves on ivory staffs as they walked. At the entrance of Saint Peter's he was received by the Pope, who demanded whether he would be the faithful patron and defender of the Church of Rome, faithful in all things to the Pope and his successors. This he promised. He was then led into the nave, and he and his wife were anointed and crowned, and he was proclaimed Emperor and Augustus by the priests and people. He then quitted the church, leaving his former king's crown on the altar, and the pope gave a great supper at the Lateran palace in the evening. But in the midst of these festivities, the foreigners were hateful to the townspeople, and they came to blows on one of the bridges over the Tiber, and many of both nations were either killed or wounded.

The Emperor sent prisoners to Germany three of his own people, who were accused of having been the cause of this disorder, and we cannot doubt that he carefully avoided everything that could possibly lead to a renewal at Rome of the bloody scenes of Pavia.

His anxiety in this respect possibly accounts for a memorial of his stay in Rome which has been dis-

puted, a charter which is taxed with imposture, and contains the most extensive confirmation of all the claims of the Pope over many towns of Tuscany and their dependencies, over the exarchate of Ravenna, and Pentapolis, the Sabine territory, and the towns belonging to it; over the island of Corsica, and numerous possessions in Lombardy, over many towns in Apulia, over Benevento, and even Naples, and over Sicily, when it should please God to deliver it into the Emperor's hands. A few mistakes in the details of this deed, and in the names of the German bishops and Italian feudatories cited as having subscribed it, are far from sufficient to disprove its authenticity. The political interests of the German kings, and the devotion of the age, abundantly explain the price at which they purchased the title of Emperor at the Pope's hands.

The concessions they made to the Pontiffs, moreover, confirmed and consecrated their own authority, and substituted a more sacred right for that of conquest. Further; the Emperor in this deed reserved to himself an important right over the election of a pope, by exacting an oath from all the Roman clergy and nobility, that no pope who should be elected, should be consecrated, until he had sworn in the presence of the imperial envoys and the people to maintain all the Imperial rights as the Pope Leo had done. Lastly, by the provisions of this Act, the envoys of the Pope were every year to make a report to the Emperor of the manner in which the governors and judges in the States of the Church performed their duties; and, in like manner, imperial commissioners were appointed to render account to the Pope of all plaints they should have heard, so that

justice might immediately be done, either by order of the Pope, or through new delegates from the Emperor. The advantages conferred on the Church of Rome by this decree, evidence the address with which Rome recovered by negotiation what had been lost by conquest; but this rather forms a reason for considering it authentic; and the acts of sovereignty which Henry performed at Rome, a solemn court held by him in the Vatican, the coining of money with his image and superscription, did not, in the spirit of feudalism, militate against the seigneurial rights which he accorded to the Pope over a portion of Italy. These rights were about to be increased.

Henry soon quitted Rome to return to Germany, leaving behind him his competitor, Ardouin, who then came out of his retreat in the mountains of Piedmont; and, seconded by many seigneurs of the country, retook the towns of Verceil and Asti, without, however, venturing to make any attempt on Milan. A single example will prove that Milan, by reason of its hatred of Pavia, and doubtless, also, on account of the privileges it had received from the kings of Germany, was much more in their favour than Rome. Ardouin, having made himself master of Asti, procured the election of his uncle, who was brother to the powerful Marquis of Suza, to the bishopric. The Archbishop of Milan forbade the consecration of the newly-elected bishop, the Pope conferred it. The Archbishop then excommunicated the bishop who had been consecrated by the Pope; and, raising an army composed of his own vassals, and those of his suffragans, attacked Asti, and brought the bishop and his brother, who defended

the besieged place with him, to terms. Both of them were forced to walk a distance of three miles barefoot, the bishop holding his missal, and the marquis carrying a dog across his shoulders, to the Basilica of Saint Andrew, where the bishop laid his crosier and ring on the altar, while the marquis made an offering of a goodly sum in golden marks; they then returned, barefoot as they had come, to the Church of Saint Michael, where the crosier and ring were restored to the prelate. The King Ardouin, too weak to have prevented or to revenge this affront, had retired to a monastery in Piedmont. He died the year following, and Lombardy, no longer contended for by two kings, remained under submission to Henry—as far, at least, as could be submissive, those prelates who were invested with powerful fiefs, those Italian and Lombard seigneurs shut up in their fortified castles, those populous and already commercial cities who elected their own magistrates, armed their own troops, and made peace and war with their neighbours at their will.

At Rome, where the Pope was, and where the consul or duke of the Romans had authority, there was still a representative of the Imperial power—at least, in the exercise of criminal jurisdiction. The decision of civil causes rested, indeed, with the senate, but criminal inquiries and sentences of death were reserved for the prefect, who swore fealty and homage to the Pope, but was nominated by the Emperor, and received from him, as his insignia of office, a drawn sword, which he was charged to use against murderers and evil-doers. This custom, no doubt, witnesses to the subjection of Rome to the foreign chief who came

thither to be made Emperor; but to it were joined neither tax nor tribute, and no foreign garrison was left within the walls of Rome. In this way we may easily see how it was that the authority of the Emperors was never either wholly established or entirely crushed. When they were absent its weight was little felt, and their presence was too transitory to lay a solid foundation for anything.

This period witnessed the rise of a new power in Italy, which cannot be passed over in the history of the Roman Pontificate. It was inaugurated by some Norman adventurers, who had come as pilgrims to the Monastery of Mount Saint Michael, Mount Gargano, in Apulia. An Italian chief, Mello, lord of the canton of Apulia, who had declared himself independent, struck by the haughty mien and martial bearing of these strangers, induced them to join him in making war on his neighbours, by the promises of booty and lands. On their return to Normandy they gave a wonderful account of the rich soil and blue skies of Italy, and soon reappeared with numerous recruits. In company with Mello, they conquered the Greeks in many encounters, and drove them out of nearly all the towns they possessed; but the Greek governor, having received a powerful reinforcement from Constantinople, they were decimated and vanquished in a final combat, and took refuge under the protection of the Prince of Salerno, and the Greeks were, to all appearance, on the point of recovering their empire in Southern Italy, as far as Rome itself. On the approach of this danger the Pope, Benedict VIII., did not hesitate to go to Germany, whither he was invited to consecrate the

cathedral of Bamberg, in which city the Emperor habitually resided. He was celebrating the feast of Easter, 1020, with the Patriarch of Aquilea and the Archbishop of Ravenna. But the especial motive of this journey was to invoke the assistance of the Emperor's arms to repel the Greek dominion, more dreaded by Rome than that of the German; because, having been long ago shaken off, it was impossible to say what evils and what vengeance it would bring with it. The Pope left Bamberg, having received the promise of assistance, which was to be some time coming; and, just as he returned to Rome, a young Norman seigneur, whose courage was celebrated, and who had left his country on account of the animosity of the Duke Richard, his suzerain, arrived. This was Godfrey de Ringon, who, accompanied by his four brothers, and other relatives or vassals, a warlike tribe, had come to complain to the Pope of the insults they had received, and to offer him their swords. The Pope received them well, and sent them into the duchy of Benevento furnished with letters to the primates of the place, who they were commissioned to stir up against the Greeks. They did, in fact, raise the country, and repulse the extortioners and soldiery of the Greek Empire. But, in spite of their efforts, the Greeks, recruited by their fleet, obtained the advantage, and, seconded by the monks of Mount Cassino, and by Pandulph, Prince of Capua, they took possession of the tower of the Garigliano, which was the property of the Church of Rome. Then it was that Benedict endeavoured by new messages and entreaties to hasten the arrival of the Emperor in

Italy, and his march to Apulia. Henry crossed the mountains at the head of a numerous army, and, descending to Lombardy, he despatched the Patriarch of Aquilea into the march of Camerino with 15,000 men, and sent the Bishop of Cologne, a martial prelate, to besiege Capua with 20,000 more, while he himself went to reconnoitre in Benevento and Salerno, and pressed the siege of Troia, the strongest city held by the Greeks. Henry conquered, without fighting a pitched battle, and disposed at will of the petty sovereignties of Apulia; but sickness having attacked the German troops, he lost great numbers, and, quitting Calabria, he directed his march through Tuscany, and re-passed the mountains the same year with the shattered remains of his brilliant army. This, the ordinary issue of the German expeditions into Italy, explains the weakness of the Imperial power. That climate, that land, the envy of the Germans, was dreaded by them, for it seemed to be fatal to them. Hence, we see brief enterprises abandoned in their very execution, and when one more effort would have brought them to an efficacious termination. Meanwhile, each of these incomplete invasions left the Italians either new causes of complaints, an increased amount of hatred of the foreigners, or of confidence in their own strength. They offered little resistance to the conqueror's visits, but they were ready to revolt as soon as he had left. The troubles and interregnums attendant on the elective throne of Germany, still further favoured the relaxation of its hold on its conquests, and the revival of Italian independence. Henry died two years after

his return from Italy, ending his days in the practice of great piety, and on his death the inhabitants of Pavia rose and destroyed the imperial palace which he had made them re-build within their walls, after the burning of their city twenty years before. At the same time several of the principal lords of Italy, the Marquis of Suza, the Bishop of Ostia, and the Bishop of Verceil, formed the project of calling a French prince to the throne of Italy—either the king of France himself or his son Hugh, or else William, Duke of Aquitaine, celebrated for his amiability, his prudence, the magnificence of his court, and for his poems in the language of Provence. William even took a journey into Italy to confer with them, but they did not agree. Meantime Conrad, Duke of Franconia, having been elected king of the Germans in the Diet of Frankfort, a numerous party was formed in his favour. Among the bishops of the kingdom of Italy, Aribert, Archbishop of Milan, set the example, and was seconded, no doubt, by the ancient rivalry between Milan and Pavia. Accompanied by some Lombard nobles he went to Germany, to Constance, where Conrad held his court, and tendered his homage and fealty, pledging himself to acknowledge him as king when he should come to Italy. Other deputies came from the different cities of Lombardy, and even from Pavia, with excuses for its violence, and offering to rebuild the imperial palace that had been destroyed, on condition that this time it should be outside the walls. This condition was rejected; but the other Italian deputies were sent back loaded with presents, and Conrad, secure of the peace of Germany, prepared to pass into Italy with a powerful army.

Having entered by the Tyrol, in the spring of 1026, he marched without impediment from Verona to Pavia. Repulsed from the walls of that city, he stayed not to besiege it, but went on to Milan, and was there crowned by the Archbishop Aribert, and afterwards received at Monza, from the hands of the same archbishop, the iron crown that had been worn by Theodoric. At the same time he carried on a war of devastation and pillage. The city of Pavia itself, defended by its strong walls and a numerous population, was not attacked; but in the country round the peasants were killed, the vineyards destroyed, and the churches and castles pulled down. Conrad marched his troops thence to Ravenna, which he entered without any opposition, and exercised, like his predecessors, all the rights of sovereignty; but the antipathy existing between the two nations, the insolence of the foreign soldiery, and the despair of the inhabitants, soon produced a serious outbreak. Conrad himself was obliged to rush armed into the streets, and after the inhabitants were defeated, he protected their lives against the fury of his men, who massacred them in the very churches. The next day the principal inhabitants came before him barefoot, imploring pardon, and it was granted. But this miserable inauguration of royalty did not make him desirous of prolonging his stay in Ravenna; and, as with the heat of summer sickness began to spread through his army, he drew back towards Lombardy, and established his quarters in wooded and salubrious heights near Milan, where the royal table was luxuriously supplied by his faithful vassal, the Archbishop Aribert. Conrad having by a stay of some months confirmed his power in

the north of Italy, from Ivrée to Milan, marched upon Tuscany, whose new duke, Raginaire, the second successor of the margrave Hugh, had declared himself independent. Having soon reduced and deposed this vassal, Conrad went forward to Rome, where he was expected by the Pope, John XIX., the former lay magistrate of the Roman States, and too prudent a chief to combat openly the German invasion. Conrad then came to receive the holy unction and the crown, as Charlemagne, and Otho the Great, and many others had done. A memorable circumstance added to the splendours of the ceremony in this instance. Not to speak of the great Italian vassals in Conrad's suite, there were then present at Rome two kings, Rudolph, king of the two Burgundies, and Canute the Great, king of Denmark, and the successful usurper of the crown of England; come to Rome, as he wrote, for his soul's salvation. It was they who conducted Conrad from the altar, where, with the queen, his wife, he had been anointed and crowned. The prudent Canute, who was no less a vigilant king than a pious pilgrim, seized this opportunity of obtaining from the Pope, the Emperor, and the assembled princes and margraves, exemption from all taxes and tribute for all his subjects who should go to Rome; he also obtained the abolition in favour of the archbishops in his realms, of the costly contributions levied on the granting of the pallium.

While the new Emperor was holding his court in the Lateran palace, a quarrel over an ox-hide which had been taken by a German soldier, re-kindled all the animosity of the people against the foreign master they had just crowned. A revolt broke out; many of the

inhabitants of Rome fell under the swords of the Germans, better armed and more accustomed to the use of their weapons than themselves; and the rest came to implore the Emperor's clemency, some carrying a drawn sword in their hands, others with a halter round their necks, according as they were freemen or serfs. This fact seems to prove that the rising was very far-spread, and that many classes of the people were engaged in it.

Very soon after it was put down, Conrad quitted Rome, to receive the recognition of his authority in the duchies of Benevento and Capua; and returning to Lombardy, where he at last reduced the city of Pavia to obedience, returned to his German possessions after an absence of two years, leaving behind him Italy, filled with disturbances and private wars between the great vassals and the castellans, the metropolitans and the bishops, the bishops and the burgesses of the towns. The Archbishop of Milan, to whom the Emperor had granted the right of disposing of the bishopric of Lodi, had to fight at the same time against the inhabitants of that city and the Milanese seigneurs, who were leagued against him. The city of Pavia, though it had at last made its peace with the Emperor, and re-built his palace, was still a formidable enemy, and throughout the rest of Lombardy hostilities and plundering spread from town to town and from castle to castle. Ravenna, under the government of the Archbishop Guérard, of German descent, remained faithful to the empire; so did Tuscany, which Conrad had conferred by investiture on the former lord of Canossa, the Margrave Boniface, whose daughter was the famous Countess Matilda.

At Rome the Pontificate was retained by the same family that had displayed its submission to Conrad. John XIX. had been succeeded on his death by his nephew, who lived a scandalous and licentious life under the name of Benedict IX. Southern Italy was still contended for by the Saracens, the Greeks, the Duke of Naples, Pandulph, Prince of Capua, who had been restored by Conrad, and the Normans, whose martial colony, that defended by turn the feeble states around, became masters of its most fertile parts, and founded at three leagues from the indolent city of Naples, and in view of Sicily, the strong town of Averso.

Detained at home by intestine divisions, by the wars against the Poles and the Slaves, and lastly by the difficult and contested struggle to unite the kingdom of Burgundy to Germany, Conrad passed eight years without re-visiting Italy, and without interfering in its affairs except by decrees of feudal suzerainty and by religious donations.

In this interval the Margrave Boniface, Duke of Tuscany, had become celebrated for his justice and his magnificence. He had just married a princess who was allied to the Imperial family, Beatrice, daughter of Frederic, Duke of Upper Lorraine, and thus his connection with the empire seemed to be strengthened and his power increased.

The only opposition against which the Emperor had to contend was in Lombardy, against his vassal the Archbishop Aribert, whose services he had forgotten, and whose power he desired to abridge. Having entered Italy with a new army, Conrad went from Brixena to Milan, where he did not hesitate to despoil the

Archbishop of the right of investiture to the see of Lodi, which he had bestowed upon him. Milan murmured at this affront offered to her religious head, and Conrad, fearing the consequences, dragged the Archbishop to Pavia, where he had convoked a Diet, caused him to be put under arrest, refused his liberation to the deputies sent by Milan, and placed him in the keeping of the Patriarch of Aquilea and the Margrave of Verona. The Archbishop escaped, nevertheless, and re-entered Milan, where, at the head of the enthusiastic population, in arms, he from the top of its walls repelled the Emperor's army, which had been summoned in haste from Ravenna.

At Milan, as at Pavia, the Germans dared not undertake a prolonged siege; but they fell on the lands of the châteaux in the neighbourhood, and being worsted in a vigorous sortie of the inhabitants, they withdrew to Cremona; while the bold Archbishop, meditating the deposition of the king he had crowned, made an offer of Italy to a French prince, Eudes, Count of Champagne, an enemy of the Emperor, with whom he had disputed the possession of the kingdom of Burgundy.

Forsaken by Milan, Conrad had a twofold motive for seeking support at Rome; but there we see once more to what extent the servitude or the vices of the later popes had weakened the exterior power of the Roman Pontificate. Having been driven from the papal chair by a conspiracy of some Roman nobles, who fell on him, armed, at the very foot of the altar, Benedict IX. had fled to Cremona. The Emperor gave him welcome there, and taking him with him through the subject territory of Tuscany, he conducted him without let or

hindrance to Rome, to pronounce from the pontifical chair the deposition of the Archbishop of Milan, and to consecrate a successor to his see.

But the prelate thus excommunicated and deposed by the Pope, remained, all the same, at the head of his Church and people, and the Emperor, master of Rome, could do nothing against Milan. After a brief expedition into Apulia, where, having protected the monastery of Monte Cassino against Pandulph, he bestowed the duchy of Capua on the Prince of Salerno, and confirmed the Normans in their possessions, Conrad returned to Germany, leaving to his great vassals in Lombardy the care of carrying on the war against the Archbishop of Milan. A German chronicler relates that Conrad, being repulsed from Milan, had himself crowned in a little church without the city, where the ceremony was interrupted by a violent storm, and that in the midst of the thunder and lightning, which struck terror into the assembly, Saint Ambrose appeared menacing the Prince, and commanding him to quit Italy. Aribert, intrenched in a strong and wealthy city, and surrounded by the numerous vassals of the Church, defended himself bravely. In the frequent sorties of his men, there was seen for the first time that warlike symbol which afterwards became so celebrated in Lombardy, the Caroccio; this chariot, whence rose a mast surmounted by a golden ball, bore suspended two white banners, with a cross upon them. The archbishop devised this gage of battle to increase the ardour of his people; and many times during the siege, the Caroccio was brought back into the city in triumph by the brave men who had defended it.

An unexpected event strengthened this resistance, and delivered Milan. Sudden news came of the death of the Emperor and the succession of his son, who had already been crowned King of Germany and of the Two Burgundies. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Lombard chiefs who, in order to minister to Conrad's resentment, had besieged the Archbishop Aribert, dispersed their troops, and withdrew. The Archbishop was not the less disposed, in consequence, to acknowledge the sovereignty of Henry, and even went to Germany to offer him fidelity and homage as King of Italy. But Aribert, reconciled to the king of Germany, and secure of peace without the city, soon found he had to face great dangers in the disturbed state of Milan itself. Up to that time, and during his resistance to Conrad, he had found his greatest support in the notables of Milan, that is to say, those who, under the title of *valvassours*, or esquires, possessed fiefs, great or small, in the surrounding country. This powerful class, to which was joined the nobles without fortune, and some of the burgesses who owned free lands, carried all before it. The people had joined it; and the trial it had made of its own strength in combating for the Archbishop had given it confidence in itself, and arrayed it against the domination of the great nobles and the rich.

The traders and craftsmen, of which Milan was full, united with the mass of the people, and turned against the Milanese aristocracy the arms they had used for the defence of their walls.

The Archbishop endeavoured to interpose in vain. After some serious encounters in the town, the nobles were forced to fly with their families and supporters,

and to quarter themselves in some of the fortified castles in the neighbourhood; and the Archbishop, deeply deploring this civil war, which it was not in his power to stem, left Milan with them. They infested its borders and exhausted its resources by continued hostilities; but the city was not discouraged, and held out against this new siege two years. But one of its own chiefs, seeing the ruin of his fellow-citizens, repaired to Germany to ask the assistance of Henry, and offered to receive a German garrison in Milan. Henry, who had as yet done little to assert his kingship of Italy, eagerly seized this opportunity, and promised to defend the people of Milan against the Archbishop and the nobles. But the Milanese captain who had thus negociated for the entry of the foreigners into his native city, repented before they came; and on his return to his own people, without waiting for the 4,000 German horsemen that had been promised, he hastened to treat with the party of the nobles, and opened to them the gates of the city, when they resumed possession of their palaces and their honours, with the consent of the people, who in their hate, still preferred their presence to that of the foreign soldiers.

In this mutiny, the nobles and people of Milan did not disavow the sovereignty of the King of Germany, but they maintained the freedom of their city, and craved the assistance of a foreign garrison. For the rest, one of Henry's feudatories, a German by descent, named Albert Ason, held the title of Marquis and Count of Milan, and came often to hold a solemn court, in which he inflicted fines, to the benefit of the imperial chamber. The death of the Archbishop Aribert, a few months

after his re-entry into Milan, greatly increased the authority of the King of Germany. The clergy and people of the city had, as was customary, selected four candidates for the succession, from whom the king was to choose, and who, all being ecclesiastical dignitaries, even took the title of cardinal, according also to the custom of the Church of Milan, the rival of Rome.

Neither of the four were nominated. The King chose an obscure priest of the Milanese, Guy of Velata, one of the secretaries at his court, and immediately despatched him to Lombardy, where, with the support of the nobles, who were anxious to strengthen themselves against the people by the help of the royal authority, Guy of Velata succeeded in taking his place at the head of the haughty Chapter of Milan.

The Church of Rome, meantime, under the pontificate of Benedict IX., was more corrupt and disturbed than ever. The Pope, who, to use the expression of one of his successors, lived like Epicurus, and not like a pontiff,[1] trafficked in the bulls of the Church, in order to satisfy his pleasures, while, at the same time, he basely favoured the designs of the King of Germany. Bribed by the presents of the Patriarch of Aquilea, he put under his authority the Church of Grado, which equally enjoyed the title of Patriarchate, and formed part of the free territory of Venice. The city of Grado resisted, and the Patriarch of Aquilea, having attacked it with troops, established his right of Metropolitan only by the pillaging of the lands, and then burning the churches. The Doge of Venice and the Patriarch

[1] Voluptati deditus, ut Epicurus magis quam ut pontifex vivere maluit. — *Victoris Papæ Dialog.* lib. iii.

of Grado thereupon wrote in the strongest terms to Benedict IX.; and that Pope, in a council held at Rome, revoked as being surreptitious the decree which he had sold for money, and condemned the Patriarch of Aquilea to restore all he had usurped, under pain of excommunication. A new rising took place in Rome, Benedict IX. was deprived of the Pontificate, and John, Bishop of Sabinum, was elected in his stead, under the name of Sylvester III. But Benedict, supported by some of the castellans of his family, carried on war around Rome, and entered the city by force at the end of a few months, expelling in his turn his rival, whom the Church numbers among the anti-popes. Restored to the Chair of St. Peter, Benedict IX. held his place but a short time; and knowing himself to be hated by the Romans, whether he was influenced by the reproofs of a holy man, Bartholomew, Abbot of la Grotte de fer, or whether, rather, he was weary of the perils of the Papacy, and preferred the pleasures and licence of a private life, he sold the tiara for money, as he had sold everything else.

A circumstance which proves how deep were the wounds of the Church of Rome, is that a worthy man was ready to make a bargain with him. John Gratian, arch-priest of the Church of Rome, esteemed for his piety, and possessing great riches, purchased the abdication of Benedict IX., with the promise of his support in securing the purchaser's succession. So that simony alone delivered the pontificate out of the unworthy hands in which it was dishonoured. There remained, it is true, the imperial power, the German domination, which any day might re visit Italy anew, and

either correct or increase the disorder in the Roman Church.

But now, instead of continuing the history of general events, it is time to cast our eyes over the crowd, and seek the man who is to represent in his own person the supreme sovereignty of the Middle Ages, and who is to be at once the austere reformer of the priesthood and the ambitious champion of the Church. He has already been born in Italy; he has dwelt obscurely under the shadow of the tomb of Peter; and his existence is to be absorbed in the vicissitudes of the supreme pontificate, to which he has been long and slowly drawing near, before he fills it, and astonishes the world.

The life of Hildebrand, under that name and that of Gregory VII., will comprehend not only the contemporary history of the Church during half a century, but the fore-shewing and figure of its subsequent history.

HISTORY OF GREGORY VII.

BOOK I.

1020—1055.

THE man who became so famous under the name of Gregory VII. was, like the greater number of those who attained eminence in the Church, of obscure origin. The date of his birth, even, is not exactly known; but we may place it between the years 1015 and 1020. He first saw the light at Soano, a small town of Tuscany, where his father, who was named Bonic or Bonizon, followed the trade of a carpenter. The son of the carpenter at Soano received at his baptism the German name of *Hildebrand*, modified by the Italian pronunciation to *Hellebrand*, which has been translated by his contemporaries, 'pure flame,' or 'brand of hell,' according to the affection or detestation by which the writer was actuated. The admirers of the Pontiff further related how that the virtue of this name had been often attested by prodigies, or, as they called them, visions of fire. According to the legend, sparks of fire were seen to come from his clothes when he was a child, and when older, a lambent flame had encircled his head, and he himself relates that he often saw, in a dream, a flame going out of his mouth, and setting the world on fire. For our part, the name of Hildebrand would lead us to suppose that the powerful avenger of conquered Italy, who was

to inflict such chastisement on Germany, descended from the conquering race.

In subsequent times, some learned writers endeavoured to connect the name of Hildebrand with the ancient seigneurial family of the Aldobrandini. Nothing could be more futile or less true. In 1073, when Hildebrand, who had been long great and celebrated in the Church, at last took his rightful place in the Chair of St. Peter, William Wallon, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Arnulph, at Metz, wrote to him these remarkable words:— 'Divine wisdom, so wonderful in all its dispensations, never more usefully promotes things human than when, choosing a man from the people, it places him at the head of his nation, as an example whose life and conduct shew whither their efforts should tend.'[1]

In this statement and this argument of an unanswerable witness, addressing Hildebrand himself, we have the clearest evidence of the opinion of his contemporaries as to the obscurity of the Pontiff's birth, and that this opinion was well founded. We also recognise in it the fruitful principle of religious democracy which vivified the Church, and which, as a secondary cause, was, after faith, the secret of its power.

Its influence is noticeable even in the fables which long clung round the lowly cradle of Gregory VII. We are told that when he was a little child, not knowing as yet how to read, he was playing by the side of his father's work-bench with the bits of wood that lay

[1] Sapientia Dei nunquam commodius consulit rebus humanis quàm cùm eligens virum de *plebe* populi eum sui caput constituit, in cujus vitâ et moribus quo intendendum sit plebs inferior valeat intueri.—*Apud Act. Sanct. Maii*, vol. vi. p. 103.

around, and that he disposed them so as to form these words of one of the Psalms :—'*Dominabor a mari usque ad mare.*' A priest who was present, immediately assured the artisan that his son would become pope. The same legend adds, with more probability, that as the young Hildebrand possessed remarkable intelligence, his father was advised to let him follow letters. Letters in those days meant the Church.

The carpenter of Soano had a brother, or at least a relative, who was abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary, on Mount Aventine. Taken thither betimes, Hildebrand learned in that retreat the liberal arts and moral discipline, as the phrase was. It was an immense advantage to study at Rome, where, in spite of schisms and disturbances, there existed more learning and refinement than in any other city of the West. The familiar use of the Latin language, the rules of rhetoric and dialectics, the reading of holy books, including some of the Fathers, the ritual, and chanting, doubtless comprised the whole of the teaching in St. Mary's; but it breathed the very spirit of the Roman Church, and, to use the words of a pope, Hildebrand was nourished from his childhood in the house of St. Peter.[1] He was the pupil of John Gratian, an archpriest of the Roman Church, an eminent and learned man, who was afterwards pope under the name of Gregory VI., and whom he always spoke of as his lord and master.

Moreover, whoever throughout the world possessed any eminence for learning or holiness, was in communication with Rome, and gravitated towards it. Many

[1] Ab ineunte ætate in domo Sancti Petri est enutritus.—*Apud Acta Sanctorum Maii*, vol. vi. p. 105.

bishops and heads of religious orders came thither in turn, and were hospitably received in the monasteries. The Convent of St. Mary was thus often visited by Lawrence, Bishop of Amalfi, a man well versed in Greek, and renowned for his piety, though he was afterwards accused of having taught young Hildebrand the magic arts that had gone down from the Pope Sylvester II. Another celebrated foreigner, Odilon, Abbot of Cluny, an intimate friend of Lawrence, also made a prolonged stay at the Convent of St. Mary, at each of his visits to Rome, edifying the Roman monks by his example. Whether in consequence of the powerful attraction of this example, or of the reciprocal hospitality existing between the two monasteries, Hildebrand, in his early youth, set out for France, in order, says a contemporary, to subdue the impetuosity of the flesh by the fatigues of travel and the eager pursuit of learning.[1]

Under the name of France was included the Duchy of Burgundy, which had become the special inheritance of the younger branch of the house of Capet, and where for a century past had flourished the celebrated house of Cluny.

Founded in 910 by some Monks of the Order of St. Benedict, to whom William, Count of Auvergne and Duke of Aquitaine, left by will an estate which he possessed in the county of Macon, the Monastery of Cluny, exempt by its privileges from all ecclesiastical

[1] Jàm vero adolescentiam ingressus, profectus est in Franciam domiturus inibi carnis petulantiam et molestiâ peregrinationis et instantiâ eruditionis. —*Apud Acta Sanct. Maii*, vol. vi. p. 113.

jurisdiction but that of the Pope,[1] had risen rapidly. The fervour of a new foundation was joined to the austerity of the rule of St. Benedict; and at Cluny there existed no trace of the liberty common in many of the religious houses in the tenth century; prayer and manual labour succeeded each other so continuously, that even in the longest summer days the brethren had scarcely half an hour for rest or conversation.[2]

Notwithstanding this severity, nearly all the monks were laymen, in conformity with the spirit of the foundation of St. Benedict, who himself was not a priest, and who says in his rule, 'If a priest shall desire to be admitted into the monastery, be in no haste to receive him.' But this exclusion of priests was only dictated by the high estimate of the holiness of such a state, and by the desire to carry out the more rigorously a rule which was so stringent as to the employment of every moment, that it could with difficulty be followed together with the office of the priesthood.

By a fortunate combination of circumstances, of common occurrence in the Church, many abbots, eminent for their zeal and the authority they possessed over the minds of others, seemed to exercise a continuous attraction on those who subsequently became their successors as heads of the monastery. The work of the sage Otho had been carried out under Aimar,

[1] Sit illud monasterium cum omnibus rebus immune et liberum a dominatu cujuscumque legis aut episcopi.—*Biblioth. Clunic.*

[2] Tanta erat in servandi ordinis jugitate prolixitas, ut in ipso Cancri, sive Leonis estu, cum longiores sunt dies, vix per totum diem unius saltem vacaret horæ dimidium, quo fratribus in claustro licuissit miscere colloquium. —*Petri Damiani, Opera*, p. 243.

who was blind and aged, but whose intelligence and will had lost none of their vigour, and who was followed by Maïeul, as successful in winning the favour of kings as in governing a cloister. Maïeul, seeing his monastery well settled in its rule, had sought to extend its authority over others. The Emperor Otho placed the royal monasteries of Germany and Italy under it: the Emperor Henry I., as we have seen, sent to Cluny the golden globe, surmounted by a cross of gold, which he received on the day of his coronation in Rome, from the Pope, Benedict VIII.

On the death of Maïeul, whose obsequies Hugh Capet followed on foot, the monastery had chosen as his successor, his disciple Odilon, in whom the capacity for governing was united to the most indulgent disposition, a man possessed of a lofty nature, severe in judging himself, tender towards others, and if ever he was taxed with this, he used to reply, 'If I am to be damned, I would rather it should be for excess of pity than for the lack of it.'[1]

Through all the wonderful stories of the time we can trace this man's active and beneficial labours for a space of fifty years. Age and toil at last undermined his strength, and he was delayed so long in Rome by a dangerous illness that he thought he should behold his beloved monastery no more. But when he did return thither, he found all things in the most perfect order, as though they had been governed by an invisible

[1] Tam pius erat, et tanta mœrentibus humanitate compatiens, ut nequaquam districtum patris imperium sed maternum potius exhiberet affectum: unde se reprehendentibus hujusmodi verbis solebat eleganter alludere: Etiamsi damnandus sum, inquit, malo tamen de misericordiâ quàm et duritiâ vel crudelitate damnari.—*Petr. Damian, Oper.* vol. ii. p. 16.

influence, study and agriculture in turn employing the brethren, and a celebrated school attached to the monastery; and, says a chronicler, in that school the children received the same education as the sons of kings in their fathers' palaces.

Whatever was the exact age of the young Hildebrand at the time he arrived at Cluny, he could not fail to be singularly impressed by the example of fervour and rigid discipline which this great foundation offered; he there saw monastic power at the height of its glory, and in all its excellence.

The sovereign of a country that had been Christianized a century earlier, Casimir, the son of Mecislas, being driven out of Poland, became, in 1034, a novice at Cluny. The Polish nobles, having changed their minds after many troubles, resolved to recall their king to the throne. Their envoys came to Cluny to fetch him; but Casimir replied that he was no longer his own master, and that so far from being at liberty to reign, he did not possess even that of speaking to them without the permission of his abbot. Odilon, being pressed by the entreaties of the Polish deputies, declared in his turn that he had not the power of permitting a professed monk to quit the monastery, and sent them to the Pope.

Benedict IX., after much entreaty, authorised Cluny to give up their king to the Poles, on condition that he should continue to wear his monk's habit, and that his subjects, which probably meant only those about the monarch, should have their hair shaven like monks, and should at all the solemn feasts wear priests' stoles during the celebration of mass,—remarkable stipulations,

which, in the spirit of the Roman Church, tended less to make Casimir king, than to keep him a monk at Cluny when on the throne.

Rich presents to Cluny attested the gratitude of the crowned monk; and a colony of the Order went to Poland to found new monasteries there.

According to all appearances, Hildebrand passed many years from that time at Cluny. A contemporary tells us that the abbot applied to him the words of St. John, 'This child shall be great before the Lord.'[1]

There he strengthened himself in the severe discipline of which his ardent soul had need, and there he formed those intimate ties with the great and powerful Order of St. Benedict, among whose members he afterwards found his most faithful allies. We do not know whether he terminated his noviciate and made his profession, at St. Mary or at Cluny; but what is certain from the evidence of his whole life is, that from his youth he was indeed a monk, and that he passed through all the tests and practised all the duties of that vocation in which obedience fits for command. We may find further proof of this in the words of a contemporary, who, eulogising his memory at the end of the eleventh century, says, 'The monks wept for him; for he was known to be a monk.'[2]

It appears, nevertheless, that a restless desire of activity, and wish to mix in worldly affairs, early led the young Hildebrand to leave the monastery where

[1] Scintillarum visionem sæpius ostensam penitus in eo Cluniacensis monasterii pater fertur adnotasse, atque illud Beatifici Johannis Baptistæ: Iste puer magnus erit coram Domino.

[2] Hunc monachi deflent, monachus quia noscitur esse.—(*Doniz, apud Murat.* vol. v. p. 368.)

he had trained his faculties for the encounter; for the Saxon chronicles relate that while still very young he came to the German Court; that he was one of Henry's secretaries; that he even assisted in his son's education; that he often played and often quarrelled with the royal child; but that the Emperor, who was at first pleased at this intimacy, was warned in a dream that it boded ill for the future. One night, says the old legend, he saw in his sleep Hildebrand, out of whose head sprang two horns, pointing to heaven; and that he struck with one of those, the young Henry, who was seated at the royal table, and so cast him into the mire. The Empress being told the dream, exclaimed that the young clerk would one day be pope, and would deprive her son Henry of his throne. Whereupon the Emperor immediately caused Hildebrand to be imprisoned in a strong castle, from which he was released at the Empress's entreaty after a year of captivity.

This story neither agrees with dates nor facts. Henry III. was married to Agnes of Aquitaine in 1042.[1] His son was not born till eight years afterwards, and he died leaving him not quite five years of age. The child, then, could not, during his father's lifetime, have been of an age either to play with Hildebrand or to have lessons from him. This tradition, none the less, points to a journey taken by Hildebrand to the German Court, possibly at the time of Henry's marriage, when that Prince went in state to visit his Province of Burgundy, there to receive his bride

[1] Henricus imperator duxit uxorem kal. Nov.—(*Chron. Mon S. Albani Andoganensis ad ann.* 1043). Desponsavit in civitate Chrysopolitanâ, quæ vulgo Vesontio vocatur.—(*Glaber*, lib. iv. ch. i)

Agnes, whom he soon after caused to be crowned at Mayence.[1]

The Monastery of Cluny, so sedulously protected by Otho the Great, Conrad, and Henry II., could not possibly have been indifferent to this royal union, which was celebrated with so much pomp in a neighbouring province, a dependency of the empire. The customs of the age allow us to imagine the young Hildebrand making one of a deputation to the Emperor. The monks of Cluny preached, though not priests. Henry III., who, according to the policy of the German Emperors who had become masters of Italy, was brought up in the familiar use of the Latin tongue, and took delight in reading holy books, must have been desirous of hearing a young monk from Rome, who was the admiration of Cluny for the ardour of his faith. Henry did really say that he had never heard anyone who preached so boldly the Word of God; and Hildebrand on his side, when Pope, declared that he had formerly been distinguished by special favour among all the Italians received at the palace.[2]

We may be pretty sure, moreover, that Hildebrand, who, like all men of genius, seems to have conceived in his youth the designs to which he afterwards gave effect, was anxious to draw near the oppressors of his

[1] Quamvis nunc teneat per te Burgundia pacem,
Auctorem pacis tamen in te cernere quærit,
Et cupit in regis sua lumina pascere vultu.
—*Carmen ad Henricum regem apud Canisium.*

[2] Post aliquot annos Romam rediturus, moram fecit aliquantum temporis in aulâ Henrici III. Hinc ipse imperator aiebat nunquam se audisse hominem cum tantâ fiduciâ Verbum Dei prædicantem.—*Vita Sanct. Greg. Auctor. P. Bern. apud Act. Sanct.* vol. vi. p. 114.

Church and country as soon as he was able, and to study in Germany what he was one day to fight against in Italy. From the time the Germans had invaded Italy, the Italians under their yoke had been in some respects like the Greeks under the power of the Turks, hating them and serving them, and sometimes leading them, and all the more easily, because the conformity of religion, gave Italian address a greater ascendency over the rudeness of the conquerors.

Whatever were the details and duration of this first journey to Germany, Hildebrand re-crossed the mountains, and returned to Rome. Ardent, stirring, zealous for the reform of manners, he there made himself many enemies, and determined to take a second journey to France or Germany. He set out, but when at some distance from Rome, at Orvietto, he thought he saw St. Peter in a dream, calling him back, and he returned.

The Roman Church at that time had reached the acmé of confusion and disorder. Besides Benedict, the original and, be it said, the legitimate Pope, but stained with crime, had arisen two unlawful pontiffs, who divided Rome with him. Benedict IX. officiated in Saint John Lateran ; Sylvester III. in Saint Peter's; and John XX. in St. Mary's.

In spite of the ignorance of the age, the faith of the people was shocked at this spectacle. The most fearful disorder reigned throughout Italy ; the roads were infested with brigands, and the pilgrims molested and robbed.

A portion of the possessions of the Church, in the neighbourhood of Rome, was invaded by the seigneurs

and chiefs of the armed bands, who professed either to attack or to defend one of the three popes. Rome was daily filled with robberies and murders; and the offerings which from time immemorial had been laid on the altar, and the tombs of the martyrs, were instantly carried off, sword in hand, by men who spent their plunder in feasts and orgies with courtesans.

A species of Paganism still existed among many of the ignorant, who readily accepted the numberless current stories of magic and magicians. The monuments, temples, and statues, once dedicated to the gods, which met the eyes at every step in Rome, and all over Italy, though powerless to revive the love of the arts, perpetuated a confused recollection of the heathen past, and still peopled with pagan phantoms the Christian world of the Middle Ages. Then too, many priests were set down as magicians, for in the eyes of the vulgar, learning and magic were synonymous, and the advanced students of religion necessarily acquired learning.

Hence many wonderful accounts of extraordinary prodigies came into circulation in the City of the Apostles. Some of these polytheistic legends, which have been preserved in the old Latin chronicles, offer, by the licentiousness of their details, the strangest contrast to the pure maxims of the faith with which they were contemporary. It would seem that the remains of the corruptions of the heathen world were still seething, despite the light of Christianity, and became more active when that light, dimmed by the vices and ignorance of the clergy, cast but feeble and uncertain rays. This was the state of things which, in the interests of society

and religion, imperatively called for the presence of a great reformer at the head of the Roman Church. The following was one of the stories current at the time we are speaking of:—

A young Roman, rich, noble, and but lately married, went to amuse himself with some friends in the vast area of the Coliseum; they were about to begin to play at ball, and he, taking off his wedding ring, placed it on a finger of the statue of Venus.[1] When the game was finished, he went to take his ring, but he found the statue's hand closed, and no efforts of his could either break it or remove the ring. He said nothing of this to his companions, and went away very thoughtful; but he came back at night with a servant. The hand of the statue was open, and the finger outstretched; but the ring was gone.

He returned home, but when lying beside his young wife, he found between her and himself a palpable, but invisible obstacle. He tried to remove it, but a voice said: 'Thou art mine, for thou hast wedded me; I am Venus; on my finger thou hast placed thy marriage ring, and I will not give it back.' The young man, night after night, found the same obstacle in the nuptial couch. The young wife told her parents; and they related the circumstances to a priest, named Palumbus, who was a great magician.[2] He declined at first to

[1] Romæ quidam juvenis divus valde, nobilis et notabilis, qui noviter uxorem duxerat, &c. &c., annulum suum desponsationis transactæ de suo digito extraxit et digito imaginis Veneris in statuâ stantis extento imposuit. —*Herman. Cornen. Chron. apud Eckard*, vol. ii. p. 588.

Sensit quiddam nebulosum inter se et uxorem suam volutari . . . . Ego sum Venus cujus digito annulum imposuisti, illum nec reddam.—*Ibid.*

[2] Palumbo presbytero, necromantico magno, negotium asseruerunt.—*Ibid.*

have anything to do with the affair; but bribed by rich presents, he at last gave the young man a letter, saying to him, 'Go thou this night to the great cross road of Rome, and look on in silence. There will pass before thine eyes a multitude of women and children, of all ages and conditions, some on foot, some on horseback, some merry, others sad; behind this crowd will come a car, with a figure of gigantic size seated thereon; give him this letter, and thou shalt have thy will.' All happened as the priestly magician had foretold, and among those who passed by, the young man saw a woman habited as a courtesan, whose flowing hair fell from a golden band over her bare shoulders, and she directed with a golden rod the movements of the milk-white mule she rode. The towering figure, whose car closed the procession, fixed his eyes on the young Roman, and asked what he desired. The young man handed him the letter without speaking. The demon (for it was one) knew the seal, and cried out, 'Oh, Almighty God, how long wilt thou suffer the priest Palumbus to work iniquity?'[1] He then sent one of his attendants to demand the ring from Venus, who relinquished it with great regret. The young man from that day forth found no obstacle to his happiness; but, adds the chronicle, the priest magician, being cursed by the demon, whose rule he had thwarted, died miserably. This story was credited in Rome in the year 1046.

Meantime, the pontifical triumvirate, which inflicted on the Romans all the evils of tyranny and civil war united, had become so intolerable, that many of them

[1] Dæmon notum sibi sigillum non audens contemnere. . . . . 'Deus inquit,' omnipotens, quando patieris nequitias presbyteri Palumbi?—*Ibid.*

cast their eyes towards those Emperors of Germany, formerly so hateful. Existing predictions foretold their return, and the following, that had been written by a holy hermit:—

'Henry, Emperor, vicar of the Most High, the vine of the Shunamite, has wedded three husbands: come thou and dissolve this monstrous union.'

Such was the confusion and opprobrium which young Hildebrand found in the Church of Rome when he quitted the peaceful and pious retreat of Cluny. One man only, John Gratian, the archpriest, strove to make any effort to arrest the tide of evil by his influence over the people. As he possessed great riches, and at the same time great zeal for the Church of Rome, he proposed, in order to deliver it from its three tyrants, to give them, if they would abdicate, more money than they could procure by rapine, the resources of which were beginning to fail. By a strange stipulation, he even promised to Benedict IX. the continuance of the right to receive the tribute of Peter's pence, which England paid to the Holy See. Having, on these conditions, obtained the abdication of the three competitors, Gratian was elected Pope under the name of Gregory VI., and justified his elevation by his virtues.

The young Hildebrand was destined to be the protégé of this pontiff, who had known him from infancy, and who appeared likely to be the reformer of the Roman clergy. He was chosen as one of his chaplains, though he was then only a sub-deacon, and always called him his lord and master. In order to put an end to existing contentions, and to the violence and robbery committed in Rome, Gregory VI. had

re-established the courts of justice, and the infliction of capital punishment. At the same time, in order to have the mastery over the seigneurs who had usurped the lands of the Church, he collected arms and raised troops, and retook by force all that the excommunications did not cause to be restored. The enemies which this firmness raised up, and the people of Rome also, who preferred licence to exercise of authority, accused the pontiff of cruelty and of consecrating the host with blood-stained hands.

Meantime the emperor, Henry III., displeased that a Pope should have been elected without asking his consent, crossed the mountains in 1046 and came to Milan to convoke a council. He went thence to Placenza, where the pontiff presented himself before him, and was received with honour; and he advanced towards Rome without revealing his designs, assured beforehand of the obedience of a divided population taken by surprise.

Having reached Sutri, in the territory of the Church, Henry obliged the Pope to call a council there, in which should forthwith sit the bishops of Germany and Lombardy he had brought with him.[1]

It was his own trial for which Gregory was to make preparation. Accused of simony in this assembly, he replied that his life had been pure, and that his motives were holy; that, having amassed great riches, he thought he was at liberty to employ them in taking the pontifical election out of the hands of the Roman patriciate

[1] Quem rex Henricus, collecto episcoporum conventu a pontificatu pro notâ simoniæ, cedere persuasit.—(*Ottonis Frisyentis Chronicon*, p. 125.)

and restoring it to the people and the clergy.[1] But this excuse could not be accepted in a council over which the Emperor presided. The reply to Gregory was that he had been deluded by an artifice of the devil, and that nothing venal could be holy. He then humbled himself, and laying aside his pontifical ornaments pronounced his own sentence: 'I, Gregory, servant of the servants of God, acknowledging the odious taint of simoniacal heresy which has secured my election, declare myself to have forfeited the Roman episcopate.'

The council confirmed this forced abdication, and Henry was free to dispose of the tiara. He desired to bestow it on a man of his own nation, and a dependant. The canons forbid the raising to the See of Rome any who had not been ordained priest and deacon in that Church; but the Emperor easily eluded that regulation.

Having entered Rome at the head of his knights, he convoked to Saint Peter's the cardinals, priests, and senators, and there demanded whether they knew of anyone in the Church of Rome that was worthy to rule over it. Such was the terror of all assembled that they dared not reply, and, in the silence that followed, Henry nominated his Chancellor, Suidgers, bishop of Bamberg.[2]

Suidgers being proclaimed without opposition, was

[1] Nihil melius putabat esse quam electionem clero et populo per tyrannidem patritiorum injuste sublatam his pecuniis restaurare.—(*Apud Script. Rerum Boic.* lib. *Bourzonis*, p. 802.)

[2] Gratiano rex Henricus Suidgerum Babembergensem episcopum, qui et Clemens consensu Romanæ ecclesiæ substituit.—(*Ottonis Frisgens. Chron.* p. 125.)

solemnly enthroned on Christmas Day, in the name of Clement II., and performed the ceremony of crowning Henry and his queen Agnes.

After having made many military expeditions into the Roman Campagna, confirming the obedience to the empire everywhere, and exacting from some of the Roman chiefs in Apulia payment for confirmation of their investitures, Henry quitted Rome, carrying with him both the Pope he had nominated and the one he had deposed. Hildebrand who, in the condemnation of Gregory VI. for simoniacal heresy, saw nought but the oppression of Italy by a foreign master, shared this Pope's exile.[1] 'You know,' said he, long after, in a council of Rome, 'how that, ceding to force, I crossed the mountains with the lord Pope Gregory.' He did follow him to the banks of the Rhine, where the dethroned pontiff died at the end of a few months.[2]

Hildebrand then returned to live as a monk at Cluny, and, in the words of a contemporary, to philosophize among the pious solitaries. According to some accounts, he became prior of the house, at any rate he was held in high esteem there for his zeal and his talents.

Meantime, the new Pope, the emperor's chancellor, died in his master's palace, about the same time as Gregory VI., nine months after his elevation.

Henry then selected another prelate of his court, Pappo, Bishop of Brixena, and despatched him, en-

[1] Quem secutus est Deo amabilis Hildebrandus volens ergà dominum suam exhibere reverentiam. Nam anteà suus fuerat capellanus.—(*Apud Script Rerum Boic.* lib. *Bonrzonis*, p. 862.)

[2] Antea fuerat suus capellanus . . . . ad ripas Rheni morbo correptus interiit.—(*Bonrz.* Sect. Ep. lib.)

trusting Boniface, Margrave of Tuscany, with the care of conducting him to Rome, and having him enthroned there. But the new Pope, who was proclaimed under the name of Damasus II., died twenty days afterwards by the judgment of God, said the Italians; by poison, as the Germans declared; and this belief gave their ambition rather a distaste for the possession of this brief and fatal pontificate.

The Romans sent a deputation to the Emperor in Saxony to ask another Pope,[1] and Henry, finding the bishops of the North of Germany afraid of the very name of Italy, determined to consult others on a selection of such importance. He set out then for Worms, accompanied by the Roman deputies. Thither, among many bishops and seigneury of the Rhenish provinces, he had summoned from Lorraine, Bruno, bishop of Toul, who was allied to the Imperial family, remarkable for his piety and possessed of a most imposing exterior. The universal voice hailed him as Pope. The Bishop, startled by such a proposal, at first refused the honour, and for three days he fasted and prayed, and even confessed himself aloud,[2] declaring his unworthiness. But he finally ceded to the Emperor's will, and on accepting the burden, he looked around for some assistance to help him to bear it.

Hildebrand had followed the Imperial Court. The superior of Cluny, Odilon, had just died, and had been succeeded by Hugh, a pious and eminent man, whose

[1] Saxoniam pergunt . . . . orant sibi dari pontificem.—(*Apud Script. Rerum Boicarum*, vol. ii. p. 803.)

[2] Spontaneam suam coràm omnibus dixit confessionem.—(*Wibertus*, lib. ii. ch. i.)

name we shall often meet with again in the course of this history. The young Hildebrand, who was perhaps the bearer of some message from the new abbot, had come to Worms,[1] where a decision of such importance to the Church was to be made. His talents and piety were already celebrated, and Bishop Bruno having summoned him to his presence, was struck by his conversation, and proposed to take him with him to Rome. 'I cannot go with you,' answered the young monk. 'But why not?' asked the new Pope. 'Because without canonical institution, and by the royal and secular appointment alone, you are going to lay hands on the See of Rome.' Struck by the utterance of this profound conviction, the bishop intimated his desire of satisfying all the speaker's scruples, and by his advice he announced to the assembly at Worms and the Roman deputies, that he would go to Rome, but would only accept the pontificate if he were freely elected by the Roman clergy and people. Then after having celebrated the feast at Christmas in his diocese, he set out for Rome accompanied by Hildebrand.

Such is the simple and precise account of a contemporary, who had heard these things from the lips of Gregory VII. himself.[2]

Later on the chroniclers added their own colouring to this authentic fact, and that colouring was generally accepted. We are told that the Bishop Bruno, having been overruled by the Emperor, accepted the ponti-

[1] Erat ibi monachus Hildebrandus nomine, nobilis indolis adolescens, clari ingenii, sanctæque religionis.—(*Brunonis Astensis*, vol. ii. p. 147.)

[2] Multa nobis Gregorius papa narrare solebat, a quo et ea quæ dixi magnâ ex parte me audisse memini.—(*Brunon. Astens. op* vol. ii. p. 147.)

ficate, and set out on his journey with a long train of attendants, and himself carrying the pallium and the mitre; that passing by Besançon, he had turned aside to visit Cluny, where Hildebrand was then prior, that the latter, full of zeal for the honour of God, addressed the new Pope, reproving him severely in that he had in the strength and protection of the secular power alone, taken upon himself to govern the whole Church.[1] And that then, he promised so to manage if his counsel were followed, that the Imperial Majesty should not be offended, and that the liberty of the Church should be confirmed anew in the pontifical election. All that was necessary was, that the Bishop of Toul should go to Rome without any state, as if to visit the holy places. The priests and people, impressed by such holiness, and such respect on his part for the rights of the Church, would not fail to elect him canonically forthwith. 'That so he should taste with a peaceful conscience the joy of having entered into the fold of Jesus Christ by the door like the good shepherd, and not by the window, like the robber in the Gospel.'

They add, that moved by these words, the new Pope dismissed his suite, and laying aside his pontifical ornaments he took the pilgrim's wallet and staff, and so left the monastery, and went on his way to Rome.[2]

In all these various histories we find asserted the

[1] Hildebrandus Leonem adiens, æmulatione Dei plenus, constanter eum incepti redarguit, illicitum esse inquiens per manum laïcum summum pontificem ad gubernationem totius Ecclesiæ violenter intrare.—(*Otton. Frisgens. Chron.* p. 125.)

[2] Inclinatus ille ad monitum ejus, purpuram deposuit peregrinique habitum assumens, ducens secum Hildebrandum, iter carpit.—(*Ibid.*)

Episcopus concilio acquiescens papalia deposuit insignia quæ gestabat, sumitque sarcellum.—(*Bonizon. Episc.*)

influence exercised by young Hildebrand, and his belief in the rights of the Church. Whether the new Pope went to Cluny or not on quitting Germany, it is certain that Hildebrand joined him and accompanied him to Rome. When half way on their journey, which was performed slowly, he made known, by letter, the scruples of the German prelate to the Roman clergy, and spoke of the reception he merited on account of his piety.

Through the whole of this journey, which occupied two months, the pontiff gave himself up wholly to prayer and pious meditation. On one occasion, when he was deep in prayer, he thought he heard the voices of angels singing these words of the prophet: 'The Lord hath said I have laid up things of peace and not of judgment.[1] Thou shalt call upon me, and I will hear thee: and I will lead thee out of captivity.'

In the impression made on the fervent imagination of the prelate by these words, and in the encouragement his humility derived from them, we may discover the tone of mind of every German prelate that was ever named Pope; their joy at throwing off the yoke, and that they went to Rome with the certainty that the power there to be conferred upon them would achieve their deliverance. In this way, hen, the newly-elected Pope slowly travelled through Italy, drawing near to the chair of Peter, as a pious pilgrim, and welcomed in many places by crowds who came to see him pass by. When he came near Rome he found the Tiber had overflowed, and, as in the time of Horace, flooding a portion

[1] Audivit voces angelorum cantantium: Dicit Dominus, Ego cogit cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis.—(*Sigeb. Gembl.*)

of the Appian way. Being detained for some days by this circumstance, he consecrated to the Apostle Saint John a new church which was being built in the neighbourhood. Then the receding waters of the flood, having left a dry passage with a rapidity that appeared like a miraculous testimony in favour of the holy bishop, the inhabitants of the city, with the priests at their head, came out with great pomp and met him with acclamations and canticles. Standing by his side, Hildebrand pointed out the fulfilment of his promise in these transports of the grateful Church.

Barefoot, the new Pope then took his way towards Saint Peter's,[1] and on reaching the term of his pilgrimage, wept awhile in silence; he then addressed the clergy and people who crowded around him, and said in words what his pilgrim's habit and his demeanour had already clearly told. After stating that he had been chosen by the Emperor, he begged them to make known their will, for that he knew, by the holy canon, that the choice of the Roman clergy and people should take precedence of all other suffrage; he said he had been forced to come, but that he would return willingly if they did not unanimously approve his election. The assembly replied with acclamations;[2] the decree of election was drawn up, in the usual form, in the name of the clergy and the people, and the new Pope, who was enthroned on the 12th of February 1046, and under the name of Leo IX., entered on a pontificate that was to end as piously as it began.

[1] Cui tota urbs hymnodico concentu obviam ire parat . . . . sed ipse pedes longinquo itinere nudis plantis incedit.

[2] Consilio Hildebrandi à clero et populo Bruno in summum pontificem eligitur.—(*O. Fresing. Chron.* p. 125.)

Leo IX., in recognition of the prudent counsel of Hildebrand, conferred on him the office of sub-deacon and almoner of the Roman Church,[1] and soon after, that of the directorship of the Monastery of Saint Paul, an ancient and celebrated foundation at the gates of Rome; and he then, with the assistance of the new abbot, set about the difficult task of correcting the existing state of things, and restoring the ecclesiastical discipline.

The two abuses which had been so long complained of, and which were now more general than ever, were the incontinence of the clergy, and the sale of ecclesiastical dignities. In Germany, France, and Italy, a great number of priests not only lived with women, but, what was considered more scandalous, contracted marriages, and, in conformity with the civil law, settled property on their wives.[2]

The laxity of discipline and manners existing in the very monastery that had been conferred on Hildebrand is cited. The Church of Saint Paul, which retained the title of a patriarchate, was neglected to such a degree that the cattle were stabled in it; and the monks were waited on in the refectory by women.[3]

As soon as Hildebrand was appointed superior of the

[1] Venerabilem Hildebrandum donatorem tam salubris consilii, quem ab abbate multis precibus vix impetraverat, ad subdiaconatûs provexit honorem quem et œconomum sanctæ Ecclesiæ constituit.—(*Scriptorum Rerum Boic.* vol. ii.)

[2] Sacerdotes palam nuptias faciebant, nefanda matrimonia contrahebant, et legibus uxores dotabant. . . . . .

[3] In tantum languorem inciderat observantia sanctitatis et regulæ ut et armenta, licenter ingredientia, domum orationis fœdarent, et mulieres, in refectorio necessaria ministrantes, famam monachorum dehonestarent.—(*Paul Bern.*)

monastery, he restored all the severity of discipline, and exercised his accustomed influence over the minds of others. The illusions of the enthusiast added to the ardour of his ever active spirit. It is related, that on his arrival at the abbey, the apostle Paul appeared to him in a dream, standing in the basilica, and busily occupied in displacing and casting forth the dung that lay on the pavement, at the same time inciting the new abbot to follow his example.[1] In conformity with this allegorical vision, Hildebrand put in force the ancient rule of the house, and corrected with a high hand all the irregularities of the monks. Careful at the same time of things temporal and things spiritual, he increased the revenues of the abbey by his vigilance, and augmented the number of the brethren, providing for them all the necessaries of regular and sober living.[2]

His first task was to put down the pretensions and the plunderings of some of the neighbouring seigneurs, who laid hands on the tithe on the flocks belonging to the abbey,[3] and his intrepid firmness, joined to the respect which constancy of morals always inspires, soon put an end to these disorders. The new abbot of Saint Paul even made them an occasion of assuming increased authority over the monks, and of strengthening the rule.

Did the monastery suffer any persecution or injury,

[1] Apparens ei S. Paulus in basilicâ suâ stabat, ac palam manibus tenens stercora boum de pavimentis levabat, ac foras jactabat . . . . jussitque eum palam apprehendere et timum, sicut ipse fecerat, ejicere.—(*Paulus Bern.*)

[2] Eliminantâ igitur omni spurcitiâ, et temperatâ victualium sufficientiâ, congregavit honestam multitudinem regularium monachorum.—(*Paul. Bern. apud Henschenium Maii*, vol. vi. p. 114.)

[3] Latrunculis Campaniæ diripientibus subsidia alimoniæ.—(*Ibid.*)

Hildebrand perceived therein the indication of some hidden fault, of which he failed not to accuse the brethren.[1]

Terrified by his words, some among them failed not to confess their sins aloud; and thereupon the penetration of the abbot in discovering the secrets of men's hearts was lauded as wonderful.

We can easily conceive how many means and expedients for ruling over the minds of men, were conferred by the exercise of monastic government in an age of ignorance and barbarism; and we shall not be surprised to find, that at this period, and long afterwards, the men who exercised the greatest power over their contemporaries came from the cloister. They were not only priests, they were monks; and the life of the cloister, with its alternation of meditation and activity, the practice of obedience, and the exercise of authority among their equals, had invested them with superior address or greater self-control.

The reform that was accomplished in the Monastery of Saint Paul was at the same time attempted in every part of Christendom to which the power of the Roman Church reached. The most eminent of the clergy saw that the lamentable corruption of the ecclesiastical orders could not fail to lower its credit, and that its extortions rendered it odious to the people. They lamented the disuse of the ancient canons. The bishops accused the clerks of ignorance and laxity of morals; the clerks retorted by reproaching the bishops with having obtained their sees by shameless simony.

[1] Si quando non liberaretur ab adversitatibus certissimum ei signum fieri, alicujus delicti impedimentum esse inter eos.—(*Ibid.*)

The Emperor was equally indignant at this traffic in episcopacy, of which many of his predecessors had been guilty. The very year preceding the election of Leo IX., the prince, who was present at a council held at Constance, had pronounced these words, which were intended for some of the members of that assembly:—'Ye who ought to have been a blessing to all around you, degrade yourselves by covetousness and avarice, both by buying and selling holy things. My own father, for whose soul I am in just trouble, was too often guilty of this sin; but be it known to you all, that he who shall henceforth be stained with this soil shall be cut off from the service of God. For it is by practices such as these that plague, and war, and famine are drawn down upon nations.'

The council, many members of which had either bought or sold benefices, was disposed to be more indulgent than the Emperor. But Henry persisted, and reiterated the declaration, so often made by the Church, that no ecclesiastical function should be purchased with money, and that to seek it by such means is to deserve to be excluded from exercising it. We perceive that the civil power foresaw the blow which the Church of Rome was soon to aim at it, by its obstinate refusal to tolerate lay investiture of religious functions, and Henry endeavoured to parry the attack by making an accusation applicable to priests and laymen in common, stigmatising the abuse of the right which he desired to retain in his own hands; but in the state of society in the middle ages, it is plain that the right and the abuse of it were inseparable as long as the right remained in secular hands. In order to put an end to the venality

of ecclesiastical benefices, and the accompanying corruption of the clergy, it was indispensable to deprive temporal princes of the right of investiture. And thus Henry, in his zeal for reform, laid the foundation of those anathemas which were to shake the foundations of the throne of his successors. However, Leo IX., with the consent of the Emperor, and by the advice of Hildebrand, resolved to commence operations by a pontifical visit.

He convoked in the kingdom of France, and in the city of Rheims, a council, over which he himself should preside.

The King of France, who at that time was but the ill-obeyed chief of a number of great vassals and petty seigneurs, considered that this setting up of a foreign authority in his dominions was a kind of trespass. He entreated the Pope to put off his journey, alleging as a reason, that he was engaged in fighting some rebel vassals, and should want to carry with him to this war the bishops and abbots of France. The Pope gave as a pretext, his intention to consecrate a new church that had been built by the abbot of Saint Rémy; and he arrived at Rheims in great pomp to make the dedication, and to hold a council with a score of abbots and half a hundred bishops who had not followed the king's banner.

Leo IX. set out on his journey to Rheims accompanied by the Archbishops of Trent, Lyons, and Besançon, and some priests of the Church of Rome, stopping every night in a lodging prepared beforehand. When he drew near the Abbey of Saint Rémy, the abbot came out to meet him, and a crowd of monks and

clerks awaited him at the doors of the church. As he entered they chanted the words 'Lætentur cœli.' The pontiff advanced into the church, and having first knelt in prayer at the altar of the Holy Cross, and then at that of Saint Christopher, he arose, and a multitude of voices sang the Te Deum. The pontiff then took his place on a seat that had been prepared for him, and blessed all present, and afterwards left the church and proceeded on foot towards the city, while the attendant people sang hymns in chorus.

The clergy of Rheims, forming a long procession, received him at the entrance of the chapel of the martyr Saint Denis, and conducted him in triumph to the Church of Saint Mary, where he sat in the Archbishop's place, and celebrated mass before all the people.

For several days after they came from all parts of France to be present at the dedication of the Church of Saint Rémy by the Pope of Rome. A great multitude pressed around the tomb of the saint, and those who could not get near threw their offerings over the heads of the rest. The Pope had gone privately to a house near the church; but he could not come out on account of the immense crowds. He showed himself to the multitude from the highest point of the roof, and gave them thence, many times in the day, the bread of the word and his blessing. At night useless efforts were made to disperse the people, promising them that at daybreak they should have their desire, and see the body of the saint exposed in the church. Almost the whole crowd stayed all night in the open air, with fires and tapers alight. The next day the

Pope, wearing the stole and tiara, came out at last, with the archbishops and abbots, to go solemnly to the saint's tomb, and transport his relics to the church that was to be dedicated.

After much singing of hymns and profusion of incense, the Pope, assisted by the archbishops, lifted up the lid of the coffin, chanting the words, 'Behold one of the blessed of the kingdom of heaven.' The doors of the monastery were then opened; the chants of the priests, the tears and acclamations of the people, the mingled mass of knights and peasants, of rich and poor, of citizens and serfs, all moved by the same joy, formed a spectacle which it is impossible to describe. The Pope, having delivered the coffin into the hands of the most eager, retired for awhile to an oratory; and on the waves, as it were, of this countless multitude, the coffin was borne towards the city. It was deposited on the altar of the Holy Cross in the Church of Saint Mary, and the Archbishop of Besançon celebrated mass. The coffin was afterwards carried round the city walls, in the midst of crowds, who gazed on it insatiably. The bearers frequently halted and laid down their burden, and at night the monks watched around it, chanting hymns.

When the coffin had been carried all round the city and the castle of Rheims, and even into the neighbouring hamlets, it was at last borne towards the new church which the Pope was to dedicate. The crowd had grown larger and larger by that time, and in spite of the orders of the pontiff, the church was so full, and its doors thronged by such numbers, that recourse was had to a singular proceeding for the termination of the ceremony. The body of the saint was let down from

one of the windows; the Pope received it with respect, and deposited it on one of the altars, and then he solemnly celebrated the mass of the dedication of a church. After the reading of the Gospel he addressed the people, who had not only forced the doors of the monastery, but had got in at the windows, like the saint's coffin.

After having enjoined some pious practices, he gave them absolution, and announced that the synod would open the following day. That assembly was composed of twenty bishops and fifty abbots, among whom were to be noticed those of Cluny, Corbie, and Vézelay, rich and powerful dignitaries of the Church, who were seated behind the bishops, but who were their equals in power. In order to avoid an ancient dispute as to precedence between the Archbishop of Treves and the Archbishop of Rheims, the Pope gave orders that the seats destined to the bishops should be disposed in a circle round the place he was to occupy. The Archbishop of Rheims was entrusted with this arrangement, and had the pontifical throne erected in the middle of the nave.

The Pope, vested as for the celebration of mass, advanced, preceded by the cross and the book of the gospels; six priests walked before him, repeating the canticle 'Exaudi nos Domine.' The Archbishop of Treves having recited a litany, a deacon admonished all the assembly to offer their prayers to God; and then from the gospel was read, 'Jesus said unto Peter: If thy brother hath sinned against thee, forgive him.' Every one then sat down, and the Pope having commanded silence, the chancellor of the Roman Church enumerated the

subjects that would be discussed at the council: the illicit practices common in Gaul in contempt of the canons; simony, usurpation of the sacerdotal functions by the laity; the scandalous customs that were introduced into the courts of the temple; the incestuous marriages; the desertion of lawful wives; the adulterous unions among the people; the apostacy of monks and clerks, who, renouncing their holy vocation and habits, even adopted the profession of arms; spoliation and imprisonment of the poor; unnatural crimes; and divers heresies that had multiplied in these provinces.

The chancellor then called upon all present to consider, and give their counsel to the lord Pope, as to the best means of uprooting these tares that prevented the growth of the divine harvest; and then addressing himself to the bishops, told them that if they had been guilty of reaching their sees through heretical simony, or had themselves sold any ecclesiastical dignity, they were now adjured publicly to confess the same, under pain of pontifical excommunication.

At these words the Archbishop of Treves rose up, and declared that he had neither given nor promised anything in order to obtain the episcopate, and had never sold holy orders to any. He was followed by the Archbishops of Lyons and Besançon, who also stated that they were guiltless of the aforesaid deeds. Then the chancellor, turning to the Archbishop of Rheims, asked him what he had to say on the matter, of which the others had cleared themselves.

The archbishop, in reply, asked for an adjournment till the next day, and permission to speak to the lord Pope in private. The other bishops and the abbots

were subjected to this public examination of consciences, and reciprocal accusations ensued; on the depositions of the Bishop of Langres, an abbot of his diocese was deposed for incontinence, and for having withheld the tax due to the Holy See. The sitting terminated by a public declaration of the pontiff's supremacy, and the synod was prorogued till the next day, with a prohibition to any to absent himself under pain of excommunication. The Archbishop of Rheims went early the next morning to make his confession to the Pope, who had gone into the church to hear it; but the accusation against him was nevertheless resumed at the opening of the public sitting. The deacon of the Roman Church then called upon him to vindicate himself of the accusation of simony and other sins with which he was charged by common report. The archbishop thereupon asked leave to consult some of his fellow bishops.

After a brief conference, one of those began to speak in his defence, but all he could obtain was the decision that the examination of the Bishop of Rheims should take place at the next council held at Rome; the same course was taken in regard to the Bishop of Dôle; the chancellor of the Roman Church pronounced a more severe sentence on the Bishop of Langres, who was accused not only of simony, but of armed violence, homicide, and adultery. The witnesses were heard: one man deposed that the bishop had carried off his wife, had abused her, and afterwards placed her in a convent; a priest declared that this same bishop had caused him to be tortured by his men-at-arms, in order to extort from him a sum of money.

The Bishop of Langres, who had been the accuser, the evening before, and had shown himself so zealous in upholding the pontiff's authority, was soon silenced by this evidence, and asked permission to take counsel, and retired for a few minutes with the Archbishops of Besançon and Lyons, whom he entreated to defend him. Whether the former was affected by his scruples, or whether he was embarrassed at having to plead a bad cause, he lost the use of his voice as soon as he attempted to speak. The Archbishop of Lyons displayed more zeal in the defence of the accused archbishop. He denied the infliction of torture on the priest, but admitted the extortion of the money.

The approach of night necessitated the putting off further discussion till next day; but when the sitting was opened, the Bishop of Langres was not to be found. He was formally summoned, thrice in the Pope's name, and some bishops were sent to his lodgings to seek him. While they were thus engaged, the assembly proceeded to the judgment of those who had not yet purged themselves from the crime of simony. The Bishop of Nevers, rising, confessed that his relations, unknown to him, had given a large sum of money to procure the episcopate for him; and he added that he had since done many things contrary to ecclesiastical holiness; he dreaded divine vengeance; and that, therefore, if it so pleased the lord Pope and the council, he would rather resign his functions than retain them to his soul's destruction.

With these words, he laid the pastoral crosier at the pontiff's feet; the latter, touched by this real or affected humility, only exacted an oath that the money had

been given without his knowledge, and reinstated him in his holy office, delivering to him another crosier instead of the one he had relinquished. The messengers who had been sent to seek the Bishop of Langres then came in, and announced that the accused had disappeared, and had escaped by flight from the scrutiny of his crimes. Then the Pope caused to be read the words of the Fathers proper to the case, and the fugitive was excommunicated by the unanimous suffrages of the council. The Archbishop of Besançon took the opportunity of relating how he had lost his speech the night before, when he was preparing to defend the accused, and implored the forgiveness of the council for having so long concealed that miracle.

The Pope, as we are told, shed tears on hearing this confession, and exclaimed, 'Saint Rémy still lives!' arose, and proceeded, followed by all present, to the saint's tomb, there to sing an anthem.

The examination of the episcopal titles was then continued; the Bishop of Constance said that one of his brothers had purchased the episcopate for him, and then, in spite of his own scruples, had forced him by violence to allow himself to be consecrated bishop. Having confirmed this statement by oath, he was pronounced not guilty of simony; but the Bishop of Nantes, having confessed that he had given money to obtain the succession to his father, bishop of that diocese, was deposed, and the only favour he obtained was permission still to exercise the priestly office. Excommunication was then pronounced against all the bishops who were absent from the council in King Henry's suite. The same sentence was pronounced

on the Archbishop of Saint James, in Galicia, for having arrogated to himself the title of apostolic, which belonged to the Pope alone. The sitting of the council closed with the renewal of the ancient provisions of the Church against various abuses ecclesiastical and secular. They forbade, as heretofore, that any should be raised to the dignity of bishop unless he were elected by the clergy and the people; that none should buy or sell holy orders; and that no layman should usurp the functions of the priesthood. It was further forbidden to priests to make any charge for burials, baptisms, and visits to the sick, to lend on usury, or to bear arms. The prohibition against the wrong and robbery practised on the poor, and against incest and bigamy, were reiterated, and some seigneurs, who were accused of the last-named crimes, were excommunicated; and finally, the council, by a decree more political than religious, forbade Baldwin, Count of Flanders, to bestow his daughter in marriage on William Duke of Normandy, and also the Duke to receive her as his bride. Thibault, Count of Champagne, who was accused of having deserted his wife, was cited to appear before the next council, as was Geoffry of Anjou, there to receive sentence of excommunication if he did not set at liberty the Bishop of le Mans, whom he held captive.

Then the Pope, after having pronounced his anathema against whomsoever should place any obstacle in the way of the return of the members of the council, caused to be read the brief of the Church of Rheims, and having confirmed the same, he dismissed the assembly with his blessing.

The following day he paid a visit to the monks of Saint Rémy, asking their prayers, and promising them his, and when they all knelt before him to make their public confession, he kissed each one of them as he bestowed absolution. He afterwards went to the church with the members of the council who still remained, and heard mass. He then removed the coffin of Saint Rémy, which had lain three days on the altar, and carried it into the chapel that was destined for it, and having there prostrated himself before it with tears, he rose to depart, and was followed to some distance from the city by the priests and people, to whom he bade adieu, and went on his way.

From France, the Pope went to Germany, to preside over another council, at which the emperor Henry and the great men of the kingdom were present. In this assembly, which was held at Mayence, the conduct of some bishops was investigated as at Rheims, and the rigorous prohibition of simony and the marriage of priests was resumed.

But while these efforts were being made for the restoration of discipline, and the reform of morals and manners, a no less important combat was carried on in regard of the dogmas of the faith. The great change which five centuries later was to alter the religious condition of a portion of Europe, was attempted in more than one period in the eleventh. Reviving the opinions put forth in the ninth century by the bold John Scott and Paschase Radbert, Berengarius, Archdeacon of Tours, attacked the doctrine of the real presence in the Eucharist, reducing the mystery to a symbol only, and professing to support this interpre-

tation by the authority of Saint Ambrose and Saint Augustine.

Being a major canon of the church at Tours, he had the opportunity of freely circulating his opinions, which were not long in being contradicted by the most celebrated theologians, among others, Lanfranc, a priest of Normandy, whom William the Conqueror afterwards placed in the highest episcopal see of England.

The enemies of Berengarius were not slow in denouncing him to the Pope, and Leo IX., on his return to Rome in 1050, caused him to be put on his trial before a council; there was no evidence against him but an intercepted letter to Lanfranc, in which Berengarius stated to his rival his own belief. Lanfranc was obliged to vindicate himself from the confidence which had been addressed to him; he did so in a lengthened disavowal, and Berengarius was excommunicated unanimously. This affair was stirred up some months after in a council at Verceil. Berengarius was summoned but did not appear; and two clerics, who had come to expound his doctrine in his name, were arrested, and the assembly condemned to be burnt the book wherein Scott Erigenus, doctor of Paris, had announced in the ninth century the same opinions in regard to the Eucharist, which Berengarius had adopted.

Still, the latter, having first withdrawn to Normandy, and afterwards to Chartres, continued privately to disseminate his doctrine. Bruno, Bishop of Angers, was his disciple and defender; but those of the bishops who had been present at the Council of Rheims, and nearly all the priests, even the most ignorant and

immoral, spoke in terms of horror of the heresy of Berengarius. They pressed the King to hold a council at Paris for the condemnation of the new sect. Berengarius, who did not appear before it, was excommunicated anew, and the King, who was titular abbot of Saint Martin's at Tours, deprived him of his office and revenues as canon of that church. Thus proscribed, this opinion was put down for a time.

As we have seen, Leo IX., on quitting France, proceeded to Germany, to hold the Council of Mayence. He had there obtained from the Emperor the liberation of Goltfried, Duke of Lorraine, whom that prince had despoiled of his possessions. The brother of Gottfried had long before taken the priestly habit, and had obtained the title of Cardinal of Rome. This was enough to enlist the Pope in favour of the Duke of Lorraine, the prisoner of Henry III. But it is surprising that the Emperor should have consented to the Pope's request by setting free a quarrelsome and daring enemy, and then allowed him to depart for Italy, where the Imperial Government was so much disliked.

The Duke of Lorraine, thus deprived of his possessions and transplanted to Italy, was, in fact, the chief mover of the dissensions which afterwards acquired much importance by the action of Hildebrand.

On his return to Rome, the Pope zealously resumed his projects for the reform of the ecclesiastical order. He was seconded in this undertaking by the exhortations and lamentations of Hildebrand, who, burning to free the Church and to render it supreme, saw clearly that the reform of the clergy was necessary to its

power, and that it ought to merit its advancement by its virtue.

Another and not less violent accuser was Peter Damien, abbot of Fontevellana, who afterwards became Bishop of Ostia.

He was born at Ravenna, of poor parents, and being abandoned by his mother in his infancy, followed the occupation of a swineherd when a boy. One of his brothers, having become an archdeacon, had him educated, and he soon learned and then taught theology. Full of zealous fervour, he entered the hermitage of Fontevellana, one of the most celebrated in Umbria, under the rule of Saint Benedict, and he was soon remarked for his learning and his austerity.

Peter Damien was well acquainted with the ancient Roman writers; we learn from the frequent quotations scattered through his work, that he had read Virgil, Livy, Tacitus, Pliny, and others, but he does not rise in any respect above the ideas of his time; he abounds in marvellous legends, visions and prodigies; he is a superstitious hermit, unfit for business, and timid in his dealings with men; and he offers a striking contrast on these points as compared with the indefatigable and impetuous Hildebrand.

But, at the same time, the ingenuousness of his mind and the purity of his morals, made the lives of the priests of Italy hateful to him, and he often attacked them vigorously. 'The abuse,' says he, 'has reached such a height that the spiritual fathers commit sin with their children, and so the guilty confess to their accomplices.' At the same time, he laments the credit given to the spurious canons which impose on faithless priests

only very slight punishments for the gravest sins. 'Two years' penance for having sinned with a maid, and five years if she were moreover a nun.'

In a book specially addressed to Leo IX., he denounced still more sternly an infamous vice which was held accursed throughout Christendom, but with which almost all the Christian churches of the South were tainted.

That vice, with all its refinements, was so common, that the Pope, while he approved Peter Damien's zeal, thought it necessary to temper its rigour, and to establish strange and obscene distinctions in the various unnatural crimes of which the priests of Italy were habitually guilty. These disgusting details fill up a whole letter of Leo IX., and the forbearance which the pontiff feels himself obliged to exercise is the clearest evidence of the horrible depravity of morals then existing among the Italian clergy. This letter might have furnished a specious argument to the German ecclesiastics, who craved the authorisation of marriage with one wife. But the Church of Rome was inflexible on this point. Moreover, the temporal power possessed by the Pope over a portion of Italy permitted him to put down the concubinage of its priests with a severity that reached to others.

In a council that was held at Rome under Leo IX., on his return from France, it was decided that any woman who should be convicted of having prostituted herself to a priest within the city, should be sold as a slave at the Lateran Palace.[1] This fashion of confiscation of the person, copied from the ancient Romans, was re-

[1] In plenaria plane synodo, Leo papa constituit ut: quæcumque damna-

produced to the profit of the bishop in many of the churches of Italy. The most holy men, with Peter Damien at their head, gave their approval to this strange form of justice, which re-established, in the name of religion, the domestic slavery which religion had so often and so sternly censured.

Notwithstanding all these severities, Leo IX. was no more successful than those who had gone before him in reforming the clerical scandals. The pontifical power was not yet sufficiently consolidated and sufficiently undisturbed to follow out a persevering plan of reform ; and it was under the necessity of standing on its defence both against the jealousies of the Italian seigneurs, and the encroachments of the Normans.

Some of the latter had, on their return from the Holy Land, saved the town of Salerno from the attack made on it by the Saracens, and had continued to attract to the shores of Italy colonies of adventurers, who were incited by the hope of pillage and conquest. Robert Guiscard, a son of the Seigneur of Hauteville, near Coutance, who had begun his career by stealing horses, had become successively the leader of a band, a general, a conqueror, and the founder of a town. He had built the town of Aversa, in Apulia, and every day added to his dominions. He had under his command some thousands of stalwart Normans, inured to fatigue, and cased in armour. The natives of Apulia, at the same time barbarous and effeminate, had neither the strength nor the courage to contend with the strangers; they paid them tribute, sowed and planted

bilis feminæ intra Romana mœnia reprirentur presbyteris prostitutæ, ex tunc et deinceps lateranensi palatio adjudicarentur ancillæ.—Vol. xvii. p. 50.

for them, or even enrolled themselves under their banners.

Robert Guiscard thus established his dominion over a vast extent of territory, and continued to pillage those whom he had not subdued.

The expeditions of the Normans soon extended to the march of Ancona, and the lands that belonged to the Church of Rome. Nay, more; the Normans made no scruple of putting to ransom the priests and their rich abbeys. The only protection the Church of Rome could appeal to against this fearful foe, was that of the Emperor.

Leo IX. made a journey to Germany to entreat succour. Henry III. gave him five hundred horsemen experienced in the wars of Saxony and Bohemia, and who might be considered a match for the Normans. The Pope made all haste to recross the Alps with his allies, and joining with them the Italian troops belonging to the Church, he marched against Robert Guiscard in 1053.

It was after the ceremonies of Easter that he took the field in person against the Normans. Their chief, in whom cunning was united with violence, offered to make all submission to the Pope, and instead of consenting to restore the territory he had taken, proposed to hold the same by leave to the Holy See, and as its vassal. But Leo, determined to recover the possessions in question by force, advanced towards the Normans. The two armies met on the first day of July, near Civitella, in the duchy of Benevento. The Normans were under the command of Humfrey, Richard, and Robert Guiscard. The Pope took up his quarters in a small

fortress close to the field of battle. The Germans began the attack with great vigour; but the Italians, who were for the most part an undisciplined rabble, called together in haste, took flight on the first onset of the Normans. The Germans, after an obstinate resistance, perished almost to a man, with their leader, Werner of Suabia. The Normans immediately came on, and besieged the Pope in his retreat. Pressed on all sides, he raised the excommunication, surrendered himself prisoner, and was conducted by the conqueror to the city of Benevento.

According to the views of the most enlightened contemporaries, this defeat took place, either because the pontiff had had recourse to carnal and not spiritual arms for the sake of worldly goods, or because he had induced his soldiers to follow him by the prospect of licence and plunder, and so marched at the head of a worthless set against those who were no better than they.

During his captivity, which lasted till the 12th of March of the following year, the Pope was treated with great honour, but he would lead only a life of penance. He wore a hair-shirt; his only bed was a mat laid on the ground, and his pillow a stone.[1] He spent a part of the night in repeating the psalms; he celebrated mass every day, and was constant in prayer and almsgiving. This resignation and holy fervour imposed respect on the rugged companions of Guiscard; and the authority of the pontiff, which had been compromised and lessened by the fate of war, was augmented in misfortune and captivity.

[1] *Hermanni Contracti Chronicon.*, vol. i. p. 233.

He received addresses from all parts of the world, and governed the Church from his prison. A patriarch of Antioch, recently elected, wrote to be admitted to his communion. The Greek Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople both wrote letters at the same time to submit to his decision the disputes concerning the unleavened bread, and fasting on Saturdays; and some Christian bishops wrote to him from the shores of Africa to beg him to say to what metropolitan they were under obedience, seeing that Carthage was utterly destroyed.

The Pope, then a prisoner at Benevento, gave his orders beyond; he even sent three legates to Constantinople with his replies addressed to the Patriarch and the Emperor. In his letter to the latter, he represented the Normans as a lawless race, who murdered the Christians without respect for age and sex, and pillaged and burnt the churches. He added that he had collected human assistance for the punishment of these robbers, but that he had been conquered and taken. And now, added he, their victory gives them more grief than joy. He says that he is daily expecting the Emperor of Germany at the head of an army; he expects nothing less from the Greek Emperor, and hopes to find in those two princes two arms to upraise the Church.

The Pope, while thus asking the assistance of the Greek Emperor, maintains his universal primacy in the most stringent terms; in a letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople he severely censures him for having sought to bring under his jurisdiction the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, and reserves that power to

himself alone. Meantime, the Emperor Henry III., being detained in Germany by many cares, and being moreover occupied with the proclamation of his son, scarcely five years of age, made no attempt to reach Italy to fight the Normans, as Leo IX. had hoped.

Disappointed in his expectations, and finding his captivity prolonged, the Pope languished and fell sick. Still he was able to celebrate mass at Benevento on the anniversary of his installation; and the hearts of the Norman chiefs being touched at last, he obtained leave to go to Capua in the Roman States, but under a strong escort, without any promise of being liberated. He obtained his freedom at last by a ransom of price, in the estimation of that age. He granted to the conquerors the investiture, in the name of Saint Peter, of all the lands conquered or that should hereafter be conquered by them, in Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and recognised them under these conditions as feudatories of the Church, which thus gave away what had never been hers. In consideration of this very easy exercise of suzerainty, and perhaps, too, because he was dying, the Pope was at length free to return to Rome. He had himself carried thither on a litter, which was surrounded by a great company of Norman knights, who were touched by his gentleness and holiness. Returning thus from captivity in the midst of his newly-made and fierce vassals, he found the people, under the guiding hand of his faithful Hildebrand, eager to welcome him. The memory of his imprudence was forgotten in respect for his misfortunes, and because of his resignation, which the manner of his death was to render

more holy still. He had only just re-entered the Lateran Palace when he had a vision of his approaching end, and he desired it should be fulfilled in Saint Peter's: 'My brethren,' said he, with holy enthusiasm, to the cardinals and bishops who were kneeling round his bed, 'the Lord has called me out of this life; remember the words of the Gospel, "Watch, for ye know not the hour when the Son of Man cometh," and again, "The glory of this world passeth away." I, who, though unworthy, have received the dignity of apostle: I am, as regards the body, no more. This world grows dim to my eyes, and is no longer aught but a gloomy prison; for I have beheld the place whither I go, and it seems to me that I have already done with time, and entered into the world I beheld in my vision. There I rejoiced over my brethren who fell in Apulia—fighting for God; for I saw them among the number of the martyrs.[1] Their raiment shone like gold, and they held in their hands branches of flowers that never fade; and they called to me aloud, saying, "Come and dwell with us, for it is through thee we have come to this glory."[2] Then I heard another voice saying, "In three days he will be with us, in the place prepared for him." And my brothers,' added the pontiff, 'if I survive the third day, look on this as a vain deceitful vision; but if, on the third day, I pass away as I have told you, remember my words. Leave me now, and return at daybreak.'

[1] Videor quasi jam non habitem seculum istud, sed potius quod in visione prævidi; gavisus sum in nostris fratribus qui pugnantes in Apulia pro Deo sunt trucidati. Vidi enim illos in martyrum numero.

[2] Veni mane nobiscum, quia per te hanc gloriam possidemus.—*Acta Sanctorum, Vita S. Leonis Papæ IX.* vol. ii. p. 66.

The pontiff passed the night in prayer, only a few of his people being present. When the clergy returned in the morning, he gave orders that he should be carried to his tomb in Saint Peter's. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, and the people saw the pontiff borne forth in state, lying on his death-bed, they rushed forward to pillage the Lateran, according to the barbarous custom which had been long tolerated in Rome at the death of the popes. But this pontiff lived still, and so the gates of the palace were shut against the crowd.

Leo IX. was, meantime, laid in the choir of the basilica, which was hung with black, and illuminated with a thousand funeral tapers. As he lay there, weak and almost dying, he exhorted the faithful, and gave absolution to repentant sinners; and prayed to God to protect the Church from all her enemies, visible and invisible; to reward the Christians who had shed their blood for the faith; and to hasten the conversion of all infidels and heretics. 'Lord Jesus,' he frequently repeated, 'Thou hast said to Thy apostles, the house or the city that they should visit should have peace. Give, I pray Thee, peace and concord to all the towns and provinces through which I have passed even when a captive; may all those that mine eyes have looked on, and my hands have blessed, be laden with Thy gifts; deliver them from all sin, and make my word fruitful in them. Bestow on the towns and provinces through which Thy servant passed, abundance of corn, and wine, and oil, so that they may acknowledge he walked before Thee, and in Thy name. I have fulfilled Thy will, O God; in Thy name I have taught, and en-

treated, and admonished. Now, as Thou art a merciful Lord, deign to convert Thine enemies to the faith.'

To these prayers all present responded Amen; and the odours that went up from the vessels of incense burning in the Church, seemed, to their excited imaginations, the celestial vapour of that paradise that was opening to the pontiff.[1]

He, nevertheless, had the chalice brought, and received the consecrated bread and wine; then the bishops communicated, and many of those present with them. The Pope then prayed for the conversion of Simonists, the most dangerous of all the enemies of the Church, because the result of their traffic was to corrupt it. Then, speaking kindly to the people who filled the church, he said, 'Return now each of you to your home, my children, and come again to-morrow at dawn.' He arose from his bed while they were still present, and crept to the tomb prepared for him; and then, stretching himself on the marble,[2] said, 'Behold, of all the dignities and honours that have been mine, how small is the space reserved to me,' and then, making the sign of the cross on the funereal stone, he continued, 'Be thou blessed among all stones, that by the mercy of God shall so soon enshrine me. Receive my body; and be thou at the great day of recompense the couch from which I shall arise,[3] for I know that my

[1] Tantus odor procedens ab altari sancti Petri apostoli totam ecclesiam replevit ita ut nullus putaret ex hominibus nisi paradisi amœnum esse odorem.—(*Act. S. Leonis*, vol. ii. p. 667, *Aprilis.*)

[2] Surrexit illo in lectulo suo in quo jacebat; et perrexit ad tumulum sibi præparatum, et incumbens super illum, cum lacrymis dixit . . . .—*Ibid.*

[3] Elevans manum suam signo sanctæ crucis illud signavit: Benedictus tu inter lapides! qui non mea dignitate, sed misericordia Dei mecum sociari dignatus fuisti; me cum gaudio suscipe, et retributionis tempore præsenta me thoro resurrectionis.—*Ibid.*

Redeemer liveth, and that at the last day in my flesh I shall see God.'

He tottered back to his bed, and when the crowd had gone out he remained with the subdeacon Hildebrand and a few cardinals alone; in the silence of the great temple he continued to pray as he lay dying, now and then raising his voice to say: 'O God! I pray not that my name may be exalted, but that thou wilt be pleased to magnify the Holy See to Thy glory.'

At the break of day, the bell for matins summoned to the church the bishops, priests, and people; and the dying pontiff, sustained by superhuman strength, arose, and leaning on two attendants, reached the altar of Saint Peter, where, being laid on the ground, he wept and prayed long. He was then assisted back to his death-bed, confessed himself, had mass celebrated by one of the bishops, and received from his hands the communion for the last time. Then, having requested silence, he seemed to fall asleep, and gently expired in the sight of the respectful and motionless assembly.

We can still realise how the rude and simple minds of that age must have been impressed by the spectacle of this public agony[1] in the church. Some vulgar inventions were mingled with it. The apostles Peter and Paul had been seen, robed in white, seated by the bedside of the pontiff, speaking to him, and inscribing his replies in the Book of Life. But, eliminating these wonderful visions and fables existing only in the popular imagination, was not this solemn and public death-bed

[1] The word 'agony' is only applied in French, and by the Catholic Church, to the pains of death.—*Tr.*

grand enough in itself?—could those who had witnessed it ever forget it?

Such was the scene Hildebrand witnessed; such the school sublime in which his soul was tutored.

The renown of Leo IX. remained great in the Church, though he had been imprudent and unfortunate. Hildebrand, whom he had been the first to promote, and who was faithful in his absence, and present at his death-bed, always preserved the greatest veneration for his memory; and many years after, when he had attained his inevitable place—the pontifical chair, he loved to speak of the deeds of his saintly predecessor; he attributed miracles to him, and charged the bishops around him not to let so precious a memory be forgotten, but to consign the life of Leo IX. to writing; a work he would doubtless have undertaken himself had he not been engaged more with the idea of surpassing him than with that of writing his biography.

On the death of Leo IX. the Roman Church, which had just proved its impotence against the Normans, felt itself too weak to attempt an election independently of the Emperor; and Hildebrand[1] was sent to Germany with two other legates, Humbert and Boniface, to consult the prince's choice. The ecclesiastical chroniclers have disguised this forced deference under the ordinary formula.[2]

Seeing, said they, that they had not been able to find

[1] Defuncto Papa Leone, Hildebrandus, tunc ecclesiæ Romanæ subdiaconus, ad imperatorem in Romanis transmissus est.—*Ex Chron. Monast. Cas. apud Murat.*, vol. iv. p. 403.

[2] Venerunt ad imperatoris curiam tres monachi . . . . et dicebatur primus Hildebrandus, secundus Umbertus, ultimus Bonifacius.—*Benzen. Lib. de Rebus Henrici apud Muratori*, vol. iv. p. 403.

in the Church of Rome any sufficiently worthy of the pontificate, Hildebrand was sent to bring from abroad him whom he should choose in the name of the Roman clergy and people. But we can easily perceive that a Roman legate arriving at Worms or Mayence could have no such right as this, in the palace of a prince who had made and unmade so many popes. All he could do was to negotiate skilfully; to offer timely objections in the name of Rome; and to secure the bishop who, without being too much an object of suspicion to the Emperor, should the most completely identify himself with the Church.

The negotiation was a prolonged one; eleven months passed away, and a new embassy from the Romans came to solicit the prince's decision, and to hasten the movements of the first legates. Henry, not knowing where to choose among those around him one whom he could safely expose to the temptation of so much power, had asked the advice of the principal German bishops at his court. Admitted into their counsels, the legate Hildebrand soon became a favourite, and by the ascendancy he obtained, say the chroniclers,[1] he procured the nomination of Gebéhard, Bishop of Aischstadt, in Bavaria, a rich and powerful prelate, and a near relation of the Emperor. This selection, so the chronicle of Monte Cassino tells us, was displeasing to the Emperor, who, being fond of Gebéhard, wished to have one of the other candidates named. But Hildebrand persisted, and would accept him only.[2]

[1] Cum Gebehardum Aistetensem episcopum Hildebrandus ex industria et consilio Romanorum expetivisset.—*Benzen. Lib. de Rebus Henrici apud Muratori*, vol. iv. p. 403.

[2] Hildebrandus in sententia persistit.—*Ibid.*

If the Emperor really felt this repugnance, it was a presentiment which future events fully justified; but we see no cause why it should have arisen in his mind, or that any great effort was necessary to induce the Emperor to call to the See of Rome a German bishop who belonged to the imperial family.

His doing so offered the best chance of securing a support to the empire; and the testimony of the chronicle, which imputes so natural a fact to the inflexible will of Hildebrand alone, seems to us rather to mark the admiration of lay contemporaries, and their inclination to attribute to him the direction of every event and an extraordinary degree of influence over the minds of others.

However this be, the German bishop, the friend and ally of the Emperor, once named Pope, and on the road from Mayence with the legates, was to reach Rome wholly penetrated by the spirit of the Roman Church, and already ruled by Hildebrand, whether he had been selected by him or not. Every attentive reader will discover that the universal key to the historical problems of this age, is the priority of the religious tie above all others, of the Church over country, of the priest over the individual, of the brother in God over the citizen and the brother in blood; so we see how it is that the Frenchman, the German, the Lorrainer or the Spaniard, once raised to the pontifical See, sooner or later separates himself from his own country and opposes his own prince. In this way we are come especially to understand the intense enthusiasm and energy which an Italian become pontiff of Rome displays, for in the depths of his heart he could only consider the Cæsars

of Germany foreign invaders, whose very title, borrowed from ancient Rome, but awkwardly concealed their modern barbarism, and whose election, bestowed on a Roman priest, though it was to give him the tiara, was but a sign of servitude that was to be promptly effaced by rupture and anathema.

BOOK II.

1055—1073.

On April 13, 1055, the new Pope was consecrated at Rome under the name of Victor II. The Emperor, following close upon the pontiff, entered Verona the 7th of the same month. More than one pressing interest recalled Henry III. to Italy; he came not only to visit Rome: he had to keep a watchful eye over Tuscany, where a new power had arisen that was to be inimical to the empire.

It was three years since the Margrave Boniface had been shot by an arrow in a forest, and at his death he left three children of tender age, under the guardianship of his widow Beatrice. This princess, having soon after lost the eldest of her children, Frederick, heir to the duchy, and also a daughter named like herself Beatrice, was left with only her daughter Matilda, then eight years old, and destined to inherit all that had been her father's.

In the prospect of such a long minority, the hand of Beatrice was eagerly sought, and it was a foreigner who won it.

We have seen how that Gottfried, driven out of his duchy of Lower Lorraine, and some time prisoner in Germany, obtained his liberty by the influence of Leo IX., and had followed him to Italy in company

with his brother, John-Frederic. Both devoted themselves to the Holy See: while John-Frederic, become Cardinal and Archdeacon of the Roman Church, undertook an embassy extraordinary to Constantinople, the Duke Gottfried, as a champion of the Church, went in pursuit of some heretics and hanged them.[1] His martial fame, his attachment to the Pope, and the secret sympathy natural to an Italian princess towards an enemy of the empire, determined the pious Beatrice in his favour. She married him privately, and gave into his keeping Tuscany and almost all her possessions.

The Emperor was offended and uneasy when he heard of this union, and hastened to write to Italy to the most valiant knights and the richest seigneurs, entreating them to keep a watch over Gottfried,[2] and announcing that he should soon come and set things in order himself. It was not long before he received a deputation from Rome from his partisans, who realised his fears by denouncing the power and designs of Gottfried, and declared the duke was ready to seize the kingdom of Italy on the first opportunity.[3] The prompt arrival of the Emperor put an end to this project, or rather to the chimerical fear that had been entertained of it. Henry, finding order and obedience everywhere on his journey, went to celebrate the feast

[1] Hi per Godefridum ducem hæretici deprehensi sunt, et suspensi.—*Lamb. Schafnarburg apud Pistor.* vol. i. p. 161.

[2] Datis clanculo litteris ad omnes qui in Italia opibus aut virtute militari plurimum poterant, deprecabatur eos ut ducem Godefridum, ne quid forte mali contrà rempublicam machinaretur, observarent.—*Ibid.*

[3] Vocatus eò legatione Romanorum qui nunciarent nimium in Italia contrà rempublicam crescere opes et potentiam Godefridi ducis, et nisi turbatis rebus mature consuleretur, ipsum quoque regnum ab eo propedium, dissimulate pudore, occupandum fore.—*Ibid.* p. 162.

of Easter in Mantua, the second capital of the possessions of Beatrice.

The lady's new husband, apprehensive of Henry's displeasure, immediately sent messengers professing his obedience, and representing that as a banished man, despoiled of his possessions, he should surely be excused for having availed himself of the succour of a wife whom he had obtained without fraud or violence, and whom he had wedded according to the rites of the Church.

Henry sent no reply; but marching into Tuscany he entered Florence, where, being received by the Pope Victor II., he assembled a council for the reform of the Church. Beatrice, who not being able to offer any resistance, had at first quitted the city, returned, and with noble confidence presented herself before the Emperor, and told him, with firmness, 'that she had only done what was lawful to all; that having lost her first husband, she had given a protector to her children; that a woman could not remain alone in the world without a man of arms to defend her; that she had committed no treason; and that the Emperor would not act with justice unless he allowed her the same liberty which noble women had always enjoyed.'

Henry listened to these explanations, but he kept the princess as a hostage. In the distrust which he felt of the consequences of the Duke of Lorraine's establishment in Italy, he desired also to assure himself of the person of the Cardinal Frederick, who had just returned from the court of Constantinople, whither he had been sent by Leo IX.; and he called upon the

new pope to deliver into his hands this dignitary of the Roman Church, with the presents that he was supposed to have brought back with him from his embassy. Frederick could only shelter himself from the prince's persecution by retiring to the monastery of Monte Cassino, where he abjured all his dignities and took the habit of a monk.

Having thus abased those whom he most dreaded, Henry, after a stay of eleven months in Italy, turned his steps towards Germany, with Beatrice as a prisoner, and only halted at Torgau in Bavaria, there to celebrate the feast of Christmas. Gottfried, reduced to despair by Henry's treason, by which he had lost both his wife and his duchy, took flight, and joining Baldwin, Count of Flanders, re-entered Lorraine to recommence the war.

In this dispersion of her family, the youthful Matilda probably remained with her mother, and went with her to Germany. She had been educated with the greatest care, and spoke, in addition to her native language, Latin, French, and German. We are told too of her beauty and intelligence; she possessed a haughty soul, and her mother's misfortunes and captivity inspired her with the deepest hatred of the imperial family.

On his return to Germany, Henry took measures for uniting his son, not yet five years of age, to Bertha, the daughter of Otho, Margrave of Italy. We may judge from this premature alliance how anxious the Emperor was to strengthen by new ties his suzerainty over Italy. He next turned his attention to repulsing the pagan and barbarous tribes who were ravaging the

frontier of Saxony, and had beaten one of the imperial armies. It was while thus engaged that we hear of the invasion of Gottfried in Lorraine, and the revolt in Flanders. In view of these troubles, and desirous of procuring the recognition of his son by Italy, as well as by Germany, he had summoned the Pope, Victor II., to his side. He received him at Goslar, where the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin was being celebrated with great magnificence by a concourse of seigneurs and bishops. Then, having passed some time at Botfeldein in the pleasures of the chase, he fell ill, and died a few days afterwards. The Roman pontiff and the Bishop of Aquilea were present at his death-bed; he commended his son to their care, and expired in the thirty-ninth year of his age, leaving Germany powerful, and Italy submissive.

His widow, the Empress Agnes, undertook the guardianship of her son, and the government of the State. She left Saxony in order to transport to Spires the body of her husband, and convoked an assembly of the nobles of the empire at Cologne.

The Pope, Victor II., appeared there as a bishop and a German seigneur, and he persuaded the Empress to make peace with the two revolted vassals, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and Gottfried, who had been driven, first out of Lorraine, and then out of Italy.

The restoration of Beatrice and Matilda to freedom was the first stipulation of this treaty. Gottfried re-entered peacefully into the dominions of Beatrice, and soon this hostile house, which Henry thought he had banished for ever from Tuscany, became more powerful there than before.

Th[illegible], having quitted Germany after the mee[illegible]gne, went back by Tuscany, and stayed to pa[illegible]it to Beatrice, who owed to him the restitution of her dominions. The office of abbot of Monte Cassino had lately become vacant, and the monks had just elected one of their brethren, venerable on account of his age and piety. The Pope censured this election made without his consent, and sent, to annul it, Cardinal Humbert, a former colleague of Frederick in the embassy of Constantinople. This cardinal, who was a man learned in the literature of Greece, and a skilful negotiator, was at first ill received by the ignorant monks of Monte Cassino.

They vehemently asserted their privileges, and had well-nigh beaten the legates. But the aged abbot, who had been elected, terrified at the tumult, abdicated, and Cardinal Humbert then succeeded in procuring the nomination of Frederic of Lorraine, the brother of Duke Gottfried, to the abbacy.

The former, having thus become possessed of the richest monastery in Italy, immediately hastened to Tuscany to offer his acknowledgments to the pontiff, who conferred new ecclesiastical dignities on him in the Roman Church.

We see from this example how readily all priests of German birth, once popes, became the natural allies of the enemies of the empire. Hildebrand was at this time with the pontiff in Tuscany, and inspired him with sentiments of aversion, which were concealed under very pious protests. He had gained the confidence of Beatrice, and, as far as we can learn, was thenceforth her confessor and adviser. The youthful Matilda, who

was educated under her mother's eye, grew accustomed to revere him as the wisest and most holy of men, and thus became penetrated with that ardent zeal for the Holy See, which was the passion and glory of her life.

About the time when the Cardinal Frederick arrived at Rome to take possession of his new honours, the Pope, Victor II., still in the prime of life, died at Florence the same year as the Emperor. This two-fold loss, which an eclipse of the moon was thought to have foretold,[1] emboldened the Roman clergy and people to attempt a free election. The minority of a king, five years old, offered an opportunity for the exercise of the rights of the Church. Instead then of sending to Germany, as they had done so often in the course of the last century, to consult the monarch's choice; the principal of the clergy and nobility came on this occasion to Frederick, whose name and services, as well as the powerful and neighbouring army of his brother, the Margrave of Tuscany, sufficiently designated.

Frederick passed a whole day and night with them in deliberating on the election, and, in declining the honours to which he was destined, he himself proposed others, and, first, the Cardinal Humbert, his ancient colleague in the embassy to Constantinople, and the Cardinal Hildebrand, who had already taken a share in so many important matters connected with the Church, and was even then at Florence, whither he had accompanied the last Pope. Many of those present approved

[1] Luna eclipsin passa repente contabuit . . . . quod profecto nihil aliud quam vicenum utriusque principis interitum præsignavit . . . . eodem anno uterque defunctus est.—*Pet. Damian*, vol. i. p. 325.

of this choice, but Hildebrand, with all his genius and daring, advanced only step by step to the wonderful deeds of his life, and was not yet ripe for this elevation. He was to contend many years yet, and laboriously to aid many popes before venturing to become Pope himself. He would then have refused the pontificate, and not only out of humility, but with the determination of a will with an end in view, and that nothing would have subdued. He was not, however, put to the proof.

In this first attempt at emancipation, the majority of the cardinals and the seigneurs preferred Frederick, whom a force, foreign to Rome and independent of Germany, might be expected to support and defend. Having concerted their plans, with, or without, his consent, they went the next day, and, entering his house, they carried him off by force; leaving him an excuse to the German Court, and all the appearance of having practised the humble abnegation of the early primitive times. They then carried him to Saint Peter's, where he was proclaimed Pope by the name of Stephen IX. He was then conducted to the Lateran with the acclamations of the whole city, and was consecrated the next day in Saint Peter's, amid the rejoicings of an immense concourse, who thought that they had recovered their liberty by his election.

Faithful to the designs of his predecessors, the new Pope determined to secure the reform of manners, and particularly the celibacy of the clergy; he summoned to his aid the most austere, and forced Peter Damien, the greatest enemy of licence and of the vices of the Roman clergy, to accept the bishopric of Ostia. It has

been thought that he at the same time kept in view a plan for the aggrandisement of his own family ; and that he desired to take advantage of the minority of Henry. IV., by proclaiming his own brother, Gottfried, emperor of the Romans. Whatever might have been his projects in this direction, he first despatched the sub-deacon Hildebrand to Germany, no doubt with instructions to justify to the Empress Agnes the sudden election of the pontiff, and the equally sudden forgetfulness of the imperial power.

No one could have been better fitted to succeed. His pious enthusiasm gave him an ascendancy over the female mind, and he exercised as great an influence over Agnes as over Beatrice. In the widow of Henry he found a woman who was still young, face to face with the perils by which a long minority is surrounded, and through which it was difficult to steer amid the conflicts of the German princes ; too proud to accept the hand of a new husband or the influence of a vassal, and, for that reason, disposed to seek before all things the support of the bishops, and, failing that, to leave everything and repair to Rome. He easily vindicated in her eyes, the right which the Roman clergy had just resumed ; and we cannot doubt that he at that time laid the foundation of the resolve that a few years later detached her from Germany, and even from her son, and transformed the mother of the emperor into a hostage and devoted auxiliary of the Roman Church. During this first negotiation, which lasted some months, Hildebrand received a remarkable testimony to the ascendancy he preserved at Rome. The new Pope, that very Frederick who had been so recently

preferred before him, who had so nobly sent him as the best advocate of an election made to his own disadvantage, felt his strength failing under the attack of a languishing malady. Desiring still to visit Tuscany, where his predecessor had died, he assembled the bishops, nobles, and priests before his departure, and charged them, under pain of anathema, if he should die on the journey, to choose no other pope till the return of Hildebrand.

While Stephen was formally providing for the interests of the Papal chair, he sent for the treasure of the convent of Monte Cassino, of which convent he was still abbot, to provide for the expenses of his projected expedition. The monks obeyed in tears ; but on the relation of a threatening vision, which it was said one of the brethren had had, the Pope, in fear, sent back the treasure, but set out for Tuscany all the same. Thanks to the faithful provisions of Beatrice and her husband, he met with no obstacle. But his sufferings were increased by his journey, and he soon after died at Florence, renewing with his last breath, the prudent charge he had imposed on the Roman clergy. But his wishes were ill-obeyed.

A few of the castellans of the Campagna joined with some of the rich inhabitants of the city of Rome, collecting their armed dependants, met at night, and elected a relative of one of their party, Mincio, bishop of Veletri. Many of the priests gave their consent under intimidation ; but Peter Damien, bishop of Ostia, who alone had the right to consecrate the new pontiff, withdrew. The partisans of the bishop of Veletri then laid hands on the archdeacon of Ostia, an

ignorant man, who could not even read, and forced him, with a dagger at his throat, to consecrate their Pope by the name of Benedict X.

He had retained his see some months in spite of the protests of so many of the bishops, who adhered to the wishes of the former pope, when the dreaded Hildebrand returned from the Court of Germany, where the complaints of those of his own party had already reached him. He halted at Florence, and wrote thence to the Romans, censuring them for having proceeded to an election in his absence, and in contempt of the decree of the last Pope. It would also appear that he appealed to the right of the Emperor in papal elections. A great number of the bishops repaired to him at Florence, and elected Guérard, bishop of that city, but who was born in Burgundy, and for that reason more acceptable to the empire than an Italian.

Thus the adroit legate employed by turns the influence of the Empire and that of the Church to fulfil his own will. He pressed Gottfried to support the new election in arms. A council was held at Sutri, and in it Benedict X. was pronounced an interloper, and an excommunicated schismatic, and Gottfried assembled his troops to carry this sentence into effect. But Benedict X., being conscious of the weakness of his cause, laid down the pontificate, and Nicholas II. made his entry into Rome, with Gottfried and the legate Hildebrand.

By this bold stroke, the nomination of the pontificate was transferred from the sovereigns of Germany to the princes of Tuscany. The partisans of the empire saw this clearly, and charged Hildebrand with

daring, in concert with Beatrice and unknown to the Romans, to set up a vain and deceitful idol.[1]

Hildebrand was the idol's all-powerful minister.

At the ordinary council of the month of April (1059) which followed the exaltation of the new pope, he performed the function of archdeacon, and appeared the very soul of the assembly. He there pursued the realisation of the two ruling ideas which supported each other: the reform of ecclesiastical morals, and the enfranchisement of the Roman Church. The heresiarch Berengarius, who had already been so often condemned, was cited before this new council, and repeated the confession of faith dictated by the Church. He declared 'that in the Eucharist the true body and true blood of Jesus Christ are handled and broken by the hands of the priests, and partaken by the faithful, not only sacramentally but in substance and reality, and he anathematized all who should assert the contrary. And then, himself lighting a great fire in the council chamber, he cast his books into the flames. But as soon as he got out of Rome, he retracted his retraction, and continued to preach a doctrine which he would neither abandon, nor seal as a martyr with his blood. Hildebrand, whom we shall always find more indulgent to Berengarius than other licentious and simoniacal priests, fiercely attacked in this council the irregularities of the canons attached to the churches who broke the vows to live in common, and to possess no property of their own.

'Great numbers,' said he, 'of these clerics, either by

[1] Ingressus est Senas, ubi, cum Beatrice, nescientibus Romanis, erexit novum idolum falsum atque frivolum.—*Henrici III. paneg. a Benzone.*

reason of the ardour of youth, or by the many calculations of age, resume the habits of private life, and so become apostates.' The same thing was frequent among nuns; and the custom was founded on two tolerant edicts adopted by the congregations of both men and women at an ancient synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the time of Louis le Debonnaire. The archdeacon required the council of Rome to examine into and condemn these provisions, and demanded that the law to have things in common should be exclusive and irrevocable as in the days of the Primitive Church.

'Those,' says he, 'who, renouncing their possessions, and the desire to possess, have entered into a religious community, must not look back; and let those who have not yet put their hand to the plough, learn what their duty is when once they have done so.'[1]

The Pope, Nicholas II., having approved the words of Hildebrand, the two regulations authorised by the Emperor Louis were read, and it then appeared that the words of Holy Scripture were grossly perverted in these compilations of some German clerk. There was, in fact, no mention of evangelical detachment and renunciation of the goods of the world for Christ's sake; all who entered into religion were simply admonished to enjoy with moderation their own goods and those of the Church. Some other recommendations that savoured still more of the habits of the

[1] Qui cœperunt in canonica congregatione sine aliqua proprietate vivere, retro respicere caveant, et qui manum in hujus modi aratrum nondum miserunt, quid observandum sit eis postquàm semel miserint ediscant.—*Annal. Benedict.*, vol. iv. p. 748.

North grievously shocked the Roman synod. When the article was read out, which allowed to every canon, four pounds of food and six pounds of drink daily, all the assembly exclaimed that such was not Christian temperance, conformable to monks, but rather to sailors.[1]

Some of the fathers added that these provisions had been introduced by the canons of Rheims, and were worthy of the gluttony with which Sulpicius Severus reproached the Gauls.[2]

The Pope pronounced his condemnations of these tolerant edicts, which a lay emperor, he said, however pious he may have been, could have no right to issue contrary to the ancient constitution of the Roman Church, and without its knowledge. Then, at the request of the archdeacon, was read and decreed anew, the ancient formula of monastic enrolment :—'I . . . give and offer myself to such a Catholic Church, and to such a superior, to serve and obey according to canonical rule, my hands and my offering enveloped in the altar cloth,[3] and I give and offer all my goods for the use of the brethren who here serve God according to the example of the Primitive Church, and I vow from this day forth to conform to the rule.'

The second reform effected by Hildebrand regarded

[1] Sacer conventus exclamavit: Non ad Christianam temperantiam, sed ad Cyclopum vitam . . . magis constitua marinariis quam canonicis, scilicet uti habeant unde sibi concilient greges liberorum.—*Annal. Benedict.*, vol. iv. p. 749.

[2] Capitulum illud a clericis Remensibus
Insertum, quod verisimile arbitretur
Qui Gallos edacitate notatos a Sulpicio
Severo et multis aliis recordetur.
Annal. Benedict., vol. iv. p. 750.

[3] Palla altaris manibus involutis cum oblatione (ex codice Ottobomano).

the election of the Popes. While waiting the time when it should be possible wholly to deliver this election from the influence of the empire, he resolved to protect it from disorder by placing it in the hands of the superior clergy of Rome. This was the greatest revolution that had been introduced into the hierarchy since the days of the apostles. It put an end to those popular assemblies that so ill-represented the peaceful meetings of the early Christians, and that, swayed by the intrigues and violence of the Roman barons, were seen now tumultuously to elect as Pope some leader of the Roman party, and now to welcome with servile acclamations the foreign nominee of the Emperor.

The council, at the dictation of Hildebrand, decreed, that thenceforth, on the death of a pontiff, the cardinal-bishops should first meet together and name a successor; that they should then summon the cardinal-priests and take their votes; and that, lastly, the people should give theirs. This pontifical decree was subscribed by one hundred and thirteen bishops, and a great number of the clergy of all ranks; the name of Hildebrand appears first on the list, with the simple title of monk and subdeacon of the Roman Church.

One clause of this decree, however, seemed to recognise the authority of the emperors of Germany; but its terms were so skilfully managed, that they rather indicated the supremacy of the Pope over the Emperor, than the right of the Emperor over the election of the Pope, and they reduced this latter right to a personal privilege, granted as often as it was exercised by the Roman Church itself. 'Our successor,' said this decree of Nicholas II., 'shall be chosen of the

Church of Rome or any other, saving the honour due to our beloved son Henry, now king, and on whom we design hereafter, if it shall so please God, to bestow the title of emperor, and the aforesaid honour shall be paid to all his successors to whom the Holy See shall personally have granted the same right.' Thus, the policy of Hildebrand, as cautious in its first acts as it was afterwards impetuous, gradually severed the chain that linked the Church to the Empire, and under ambiguous formulæ, intimating some remains of independence, foreshadowed what he would one day dare.

The Court of Germany was not deceived as to the nature of the concession made to it by the new decree.

The Empress Agnes took offence at it as compromising the rights of her son;[1] and when the cardinal who had been sent to Germany by Nicholas II. to transmit it, presented himself at the gates of the palace, he was refused admittance, and, after waiting several days, was obliged to return to Rome, carrying back the decree of the council with its seal unopened.[2]

But these demonstrations, which, during the minority of Henry, were followed by no enterprise in Italy, were looked on at Rome as equally sacrilegious and useless, and Hildebrand's designs for the independence of the Church made way daily.

[1] Ad hoc regiæ matris impulit imperiale præceptum.—*B. Petri Damiani Opusc. IV., Disceptatio Synodalis*, p. 29.

[2] Stephanus cardinalis presbyter apostolici sedis . . . cum apostolicis litteris ad aulam regiam missus, ab aulicis administratoribus non est admissus: sed per quinque fere dies ad B. Petri et apostolicæ sedis injuriam, præ foribus mansit exclusus . . . legati tamen officium quo fungebatur implere non potuit, clausum itaque signatum mysterium concilii, cujus erat gerulus, retulit, quia regiis eum præsentari conspectibus curialium plectenda temeritas non permisit.—*Ibid.*

Notwithstanding this success, the temporal powers of the pontificate were still very feeble. In the neighbourhood of Rome, the seigneurs, who acknowledged no sovereign, pillaged the domains of the Church, and put to ransom the pilgrims whom they took prisoners. They dwelt in towns defended by their vassals, and issued thence, sword in hand, to carry their incursions to the very gates of the city. The chief of these marauders were the Counts of Toscanella and Sigici, who in this way revenged themselves for not having been able to maintain in the Papal See, their creature, Benedict X. Their house had formerly given many popes to Rome; having lost this privilege, partly through the power of the Emperor, partly by the talent of Hildebrand, they now ravaged the country they could no longer govern.

While the States of the Church were thus infested by some captains of thieves, other robbers, who had become kings, offered the Pope assistance, which he accepted. The Norman adventurers who had made themselves masters of Apulia and Calabria, aspired to confirm the success of their arms by some titles that should command respect. Their very power led them to seek the recognition of the Apostolic Chair. They would willingly have acknowledged the Pope as the titular sovereign of all the kingdoms of the earth, provided he would allow them to take them and plunder them. The accidental community of interest between the Popes and the Normans, and their need of each other, was perhaps one of the most active causes of the pontifical greatness. In 1059, Robert Guiscard sent envoys to Nicholas II. to ask him to come into the

territories of the Normans, to receive their homage, and to admit them into the communion of the Church. They held out a hope that on these conditions they would give the assistance of their arms, and restore the dominions they had taken.

The Pope did not hesitate to undertake this journey. He had a ready pretext—the irregularity of the ecclesiastical order under the new master of the province. The rule of celibacy was no better observed there than in the Milanese : priests and deacons married openly. He announced then that he should hold a council at Amalfi, the capital of the possessions of Guiscard, and arrived there with more than a hundred bishops. He was received with all honour; Guiscard abandoned the siege of a town in Calabria to welcome him, and came to meet him at the head of his choicest knights. The council was held, and the anathema, and interdiction from priestly functions, pronounced against all married priests.

At the last sitting, Richard Guiscard, the conqueror of Capua, and Robert, presented themselves before the Pope, and declared that they put into his hands the portions of the domain of Saint Peter, which they had aforetime invaded. Nicholas II. then raised the excommunication formerly pronounced by the Church; confirmed Richard in the principality of Capua; and recognised Robert as the lawful Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and even of Sicily, whose conquest he meant to accomplish.

On these conditions the Norman princes acknowledged themselves vassals of the Holy See, and promised to unfurl their banner at the Pope's command.

While reconducting their lord Pope out of their territory to his own dominions, they ravaged, in fact, the lands of the Count of Toscanella, one of the most rebellious of the Pope's castellans; and in the canton of Prænestе and Nomanto, they destroyed the greater part of the castles belonging to the Pope's enemies, and committed many excesses themselves, under pretext of securing the pontifical authority. They then returned to prepare for the great expedition they meditated against Sicily. The robbers they had dispersed thereupon reappeared; one Count Gérard, whose fortress they had destroyed, continued to infest the place with impunity.

The Archbishop of York and two English bishops had come to Rome about 1060, to exculpate themselves from the charge of simony, having in their company the Earl of Northumberland, brother-in-law to the King. The Pope found the Archbishop guilty, but dismissed the bishops absolved. They departed from Rome, but before they had proceeded far, they were attacked by the band of Gérard, which took from them a large sum of money and robbed them of all they had except the clothes they wore.

The Englishmen, being without the means of continuing their journey, returned to Rome, with bitter complaints. The Earl of Northumberland told the Pope 'that foreign nations were very foolish to dread the excommunication from a distance which was set at naught by thieves at the gates of Rome;' and further said, with Saxon bluntness, that 'unless the Pope did not make them give back what they had taken he should think he was in concert with the brigands, and

that when the King of England should know such things he would not longer pay Peter's pence.' In order to appease him, the Pope in full council pronounced the major excommunication against Gérard, and modified his original sentence on the Archbishop of York; he restored him his pallium, and he and his companions left Rome loaded with presents, and convinced of the Pope's liberality and justice, if not of his power.

It is certain that the brigandage which had been formerly repressed by Henry III. was now carried on with impunity all over Italy. The property of the clergy was no safer than the rest. In vain did the Pope and the bishops, day after day, pronounce excommunications against the robbers or receivers of holy things, in which were included the flocks belonging to the abbeys; the acts of violence were renewed every day, the authority of the prefect at Rome was no check to them, and all the Church could oppose to these disorders was its threats and its remonstrances.

The priests invented wonderful stories to terrify the consciences of the laity: they formed the theme of most of the sermons both in the Latin language and the vulgar tongue. Hildebrand often took it up in eloquent terms which were well remembered by his contemporaries. We possess even a passage they have noted down from a sermon he preached before Pope Nicholas II. in the church of Arezzo; we trace in it those imaginary terrors which a century later inspired Dante; and we can easily fancy the fictions of the 'Divina Comédia' presenting themselves to the fancy of the poet, in a country where religion constantly brought similar images before the people.

'In one of the provinces of Germany,' said Hildebrand, 'there died, about ten years ago, a certain count, who had been rich and powerful, and what is astonishing for one of that class, he was, according to the judgment of man, pure in faith and innocent in his life. Some time after his death, a holy man descended in spirit to hell, and beheld the count standing on the topmost rung of a ladder. He tells us that this ladder stood unconsumed amid the crackling flames around; and that it had been placed there to receive the family of the aforesaid count. There was, moreover, the black and frightful abyss out of which rose the fatal ladder. It was so ordered that the last comer took his station at first at the top of the ladder, and when the rest of his family arrived he went down one step, and all below him did likewise.

'As the last of the same family who died, came and took his place, age after age, on this ladder, it followed inevitably that they all successively reached the depth of hell. The holy man who beheld this thing, asked the reason of this terrible damnation, and especially how it was the seigneurs whom he had known, and who had lived a life of justice and well-doing, should be thus punished. And he heard a voice saying, 'It is because of certain lands belonging to the church of Metz, which were taken from the blessed Stephen by one of this man's ancestors, from whom he was the tenth in descent, and for this cause all these men have sinned by the same avarice, are subjected to the same punishment in eternal fire.'[1]

[1] *Petri Damiani Opusc.* vol. i. Epist. IX. pp. 13, 14.

Nicholas II. had bestowed the archdeaconate of the Roman Church on Hildebrand, and he had discharged its functions in the first council held by the Pope, and from that time, he had had a share in all the transactions of the pontificate, and it will not be uninteresting to trace his hand, so to speak, in the most important acts of this Pope. Independently of some unequivocal indications, we may always recognise his influence in the imperious spirit which always marks his councils and his policy. The domination over bishops, the intimidation of kings, the using of one to threaten or keep in check the other, were the characteristics we remark in a letter of Nicholas II., beneath whose name is written that of Hildebrand with a humility that none the less reveals the true author of this composition, in which the Pope enjoins the Archbishop of Rheims to keep a check on Henry King of France. This letter is dated 1059, soon after the schism which Nicholas had been called on to oppose.

'Nicholas, servant of the servants of God, to the venerable Archbishop Gervaise health, and the Apostolic benediction.

'Though there have reached the Apostolic See some reports unfavourable to you, and which cannot be dismissed without discussion, as, for example, that you have favoured our enemies[1] and have neglected the pontifical prescriptions; still, as you have defended yourself by the evidence of a trustworthy person, and are, moreover, commended for your fidelity to Saint Peter, we pass over these things, hoping that the testimony we have received of you is true. And be you

[1] Invasoribus.

careful so to live that your enemies may find no opportunity of grieving us on your account. For you well know how our common mother, the Roman Church, has favoured you, and what confidence she has in your ability to succour the Church, that has been almost ruined by the French.

'Labour therefore to accomplish what the apostolic see expects of you, reprove, entreat, and warn your glorious king, so that he be not corrupted by the counsels of the wicked, who think under favour of our discords to elude the censure apostolic, and let him beware of resisting the sacred canons, or rather Saint Peter, and of thus stirring us up against him, who desire to love him as the apple of our eye. For it would be strange if that on account of some simpleton whom the bishop of Maçon wished to ordain, he should offend God and Saint Peter, and lightly esteem our charity and affection for him. Has he about him any member of antichrist, who thinks the grace of blessed Saint Peter will not profit him more than the perfidious fidelity of the wicked? Let then this glorious king do as he will as regards us, for we are always ready to pray for him and his armies.

'As regards the Duke Gottfried, let no one put you in fear of him when you shall have occasion to come to Rome; because, not only will he place no obstacle in your way, but he will render you faithful services. Our very dear brethren, the cardinal bishops, salute you, and so does, with humility, our son Hildebrand.'[1]

In thus confiding to Hildebrand all the cares of the

[1] Salutant vos carissimi fratres nostri cardinalis Episcopi, nec non humilitas nostri Hildebrandi.—*Apud Script. Rerum Franc.* p. 492.

pontificate, the pontiff reserved to himself only the works of charity. He still retained the title of bishop of Florence, and often went to that city to visit his former flock. He died there on the fourth of June, 1061, leaving as the defenders of the papal see those very Normans who had kept Leo IX. prisoner. But Guiscard was the enemy of the Germans and the Lombards, his newly acquired authority had need of the Pope, and he must have been willing enough to give his support to a spiritual power from which he derived advantages.

Hildebrand, fixed as ever in his detestation of the power of the sovereigns of Germany, had no repugnance to the alliance that had been formed with Guiscard, and fortified by its support, he proposed, three days after the death of Nicholas II., to elect a new pope, without crossing the Alps to receive the orders of a king who was still a child.

This idea was in conformity with the wishes of a great number, not only of cardinals and priests, but of the citizens of Rome, who fancied they should be free if their Church became independent of the power of Henry. There was, however, also a party in the city who were zealous for the Emperor, and who maintained that the election would be null if Henry were not consulted. And here we perceive is the origin of that gigantic dispute that was afterwards designated the quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibelines.

In the party of the Emperor were many of the German cardinals, and of the nobles and people who had not forgotten how they had received Henry III. on his coronation; and some seigneurs, castellans, who,

accustomed to violence and disorder, preferred dependence on a distant suzerain.

All these demanded that the election should be deferred, and to put an end to the contention Hildebrand and his party consented to send a message to Germany to the young King Henry and his mother the Empress Agnes. This delay, however, raised up new difficulties. In Lombardy, where the power of the Emperor had many partisans, the clergy objected to a Pope chosen from the Roman Church. The greater number of the Lombard bishops, who openly lived with wives, met, by the advice of Guilbert, archbishop of Parma and chancellor of the King of Germany, in Italy, and, in a synod to which many priests were admitted, it was decided they must have a Pope chosen in their own province, *in the paradise of Italy*, who would have compassion on their infirmities.

These then, despatched a deputation, charged with the expression of their wishes, to the young Henry. The party in Rome which was attached to the Emperor also sent him deputies. The sovereign of Germany was thus solicited by all sides to exercise his right just when he was about to lose it.

These various deputations arrived at the Court of Germany about the same time. The one from the Roman clergy was not even received. The cardinal Stephen, the bearer of the letters from the sacred college, remained for five days at the gate of the Emperor's palace without being able to gain admission, and then left, carrying back his letters, and inveighing against the haughtiness of the Emperor's officers.

On receiving this intelligence, Hildebrand delayed

no longer. He pressed the cardinals to exercise their rights and to secure the liberty of the Church by electing a pope. At the same time he employed all his energy in securing all their votes for Anselm, bishop of Lucca, his particular friend, a man of an irreproachable life, and moreover renowned for his gentle disposition. He supported this election by a great number of mendicant friars whose protector he was at all times. They it was who in sleeveless robe with a gourd over the left shoulder and a wallet over the right, carried the new Pope's election. 'Get away, thou leper ; get away, thou beggar,' cried the crowd. But there stood Guiscard, with some hundreds of his Norman knights, to maintain the election, and the partisans of the Emperor dared not offer any opposition to it.

The Court of Germany meantime was preparing to make another choice. The Empress Agnes had convoked for this purpose a general diet in the city of Bâle. Henry, who was now twelve years of age, was there crowned, and assumed the title of Patrice of the Romans, that had been borne by Charlemagne. The assembly now proceeded to deliberate on the election of a pope, and guided by the advice of the Lombard bishops, they chose as sovereign pontiff Cadaloüs, whose licentious life gave them no fear of finding in him a reformer.

This election was not more irregular than other pontifical elections that had been made in Germany under Henry III. and had been quietly accepted by the Romans. But the principle of the independence of the Roman Church, so constantly preached by Hildebrand,

had taken root in men's minds since that time, and the election of Cadaloüs was regarded as profanation even by those who did not absolutely deny the right of Germany.

'How,' wrote Peter Damien to Cadaloüs, 'could you allow yourself to be elected bishop of Rome, unknown to the Roman Church, to say nothing of the senate, the inferior clergy, and the people?' And, at the same time, he prophesied that he should be killed within the year.

However, Cadaloüs, who, on receiving the announcement of his election, had assumed the pontifical ornaments, and the name of Honorius II., endeavoured to obtain the means of securing the papal chair. The empire of Germany, embarrassed by a minority, could give him no help, but the zeal of the Lombard bishops made up for the deficiency: they furnished money and troops, and Honorius soon set forward, at the head of a small army, to besiege Rome.

Alexander had left the city, with Hildebrand and his most faithful friends, to seek refuge in Tuscany with Beatrice and her husband. The troops of Honorius encamped in the place known as Nero's Field. He had communications in the town with the partisans of the Emperor, and repulsed a first sortie made by the Roman citizens, who were the most zealous in the cause of the Pope Alexander.

But the Duke Gottfried soon made his appearance, and defeated Honorius. Beatrice accompanied her husband, and the youthful Matilda, then fifteen years of age, showed herself in the field, arousing by her presence the zeal of the defenders of the Church. And

now the Government of Germany itself was to experience a great revolution; the authority of the Empress Agnes began to be irksome to the nobles; she had governed seven years.

The death of Henry III., in 1054, left, as we have seen, the succession to the empire to a child of four years old, under the guardianship of his mother, the Empress Agnes. The nobility, who had so long been kept down by Henry, acquiesced in this opportunity of throwing off the yoke, and parties were formed on all sides against the young prince. Agnes at first found means to baffle these intrigues, and sought in the bishops a check upon the ambition of the great vassals. She chose as her chief adviser, Henry, bishop of Augsbourg, a prudent and subtle man, who joined to the authority of his religious dignity great experience in the worldly matters of his time. Agnes was still young and fair, and her confidence in the bishop of Augsbourg was regarded as a sentimental attachment.

Some bishops, jealous of the favourite's influence, joined those princes who thought themselves deprived by him of their right to govern the empire. The Count Eckbert, a relation of the king, and Otho, Duke of Bavaria, were the chiefs of this party: in their conferences they loudly expressed their indignation that a woman should dare to command so many valiant princes and holy bishops, or rather that she should place them under the authority of a man whose slave she had become by a disgraceful intimacy, and who disposed as he would of the revenue and the treasure of the empire. They declared that the evil left no

room for hope, seeing that the young prince, being brought up in a woman's apartments, would become a woman himself; that he must be delivered from such thraldom, and grow up to manhood, not within the walls of a palace, but amid his nobles and in the toils of war.

Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, and Siegfried, archbishop of Mayence, were the most eager for the accomplishment of this undertaking, and were first to propound for its success, a plan much more easy of execution than a civil war. The malcontent seigneurs and bishops were still visitors at the Court of Agnes and the young king, and often accompanied them in their journeys. Having learned that the young prince and his mother intended to go to Nimeguen to keep the feast of Easter the archbishop of Cologne had a great barge constructed: its form was elegant, its workmanship of the richest, it was ornamented with pictures and hangings from Italy, and glittered with silver and gold. This vessel, decked with such unaccustomed luxury, descended the Rhine to the Island of Saint Kaiserworth, where the king was to halt for a little pleasure.

The prince had arrived some days previously, and feasting went merrily on in this islet, one of the most charming on the bosom of the Rhine. The archbishop began to talk of the beauty of his barge, which lay at anchor near the shore, and his description naturally excited the curiosity of the young prince, then just fifteen. He went on board the wonderful vessel with some of his courtiers. At the same instant, the sailors, on a sign from the archbishop, spread the sails, and took to their oars, rowing with all their strength. The

prince, who at first thought this was done in a joke, grew alarmed when he observed the precipitation around him. The archbishop tried to calm his apprehension by the most plausible pretexts and the most flattering words; but Henry, who had no doubt learned to be distrustful by the perils of his minority, would listen to no protests, and, filled with indignation, he leapt into the river. The Count Eckbert, one of the authors of the plot, who had been attentively watching the young prince, dashed into the water, and swimming after him, brought him on board. Those around, then strove by redoubled efforts and renewed protestations to calm Henry's grief, and so brought him to Cologne, where the archbishop was absolute master. The Empress Agnes, driven to despair by this act of violence, tried to excite the zeal of the people, in the hope of making an attempt for the recovery of her son; but the power she had enjoyed was drawing to a close, the party of the seigneurs and the bishops turned the scale.

The archbishop of Cologne convoked in the episcopal city an assembly of the nobles and bishops, who gave their approbation to what he had done, and who proclaimed that henceforth the archbishop of the diocese in which the king should be, should be responsible for his safety and the happiness of the empire.

Hanno afterwards summoned an assembly of bishops at Augsbourg to enquire into the question of the schism.

The acts of this council have not come down to us. Peter Damien has given us an imaginary account of them in a controversial paper in which he gives before-

hand the speech of the king's advocate, and that of the advocate of the Roman Church; but this illusory style of arguing, that was satisfactory to the Italians, can tell us nothing of what was really said by the learned men of the other side of the Alps.

Beneath the pen of a Roman priest the defence of the rights of the empire dwindled down to little more than this humble assertion: the Pope being pontiff universal, not only the Roman people, but the Emperor, who is the head of the people, owes him obedience; it is then right that the people alone should choose a Pope, and that the Emperor should obey him whom he did not choose.

To this feeble argument Peter Damien replies by citing the names of the many popes who were elected in the early ages without the Emperor's orders, and relies especially on the pretended donation of Constantine, ceding to the pontiff the Lateran Palace and the kingdom of Italy.

'But,' says the king's advocate, 'the sovereign pontiffs themselves have recognised the right of the emperors.'

'Is it surprising,' replies Peter Damien, 'that men dwelling in frail flesh should alter their decrees, when God, who knows all things, changes his?' And thereupon he cites the one hundred and twenty years promised in Genesis, and that other promise of God, that the sceptre should not depart from Judah till Christ should come, and many others of the words of Scripture, favourable and threatening, that were not fulfilled.

After having justified, in his fashion, the want of good faith in the popes, he states that Saint Paul him-

self prevaricated to please the multitude, and that therefore the Roman Church is not to be blamed for having done what was agreeable to the people.

We see by these arguments that the Roman Church did not as yet feel sure of possessing the right it claimed. Peter Damien particularly complains that the Emperor should have nominated a Pope, when Rome had already made a choice. 'But,' he makes Rome reply to the king's advocate, 'we were driven to it by the Count Gérard and other citizens, who solicited us eagerly; and among their number was even the Abbot of the Monastery of Scarius.' 'Well, then,' triumphantly rejoins Peter Damien, 'you prove that I am right by admitting that you held communication with Gérard, who is under excommunication.'

The Count Gérard had, in fact, been excommunicated by every pontiff who had governed the Church in his time. In the last instance, the sentence was pronounced on account of the attack he made on the English Earl and the Archbishop of York, whom he assailed on the borders of the States of the Church, and whom he robbed of all their money.

For this deed, as we have seen, the major excommunication was pronounced against him in full synod, under the presidency of the Pope, Nicholas II., the tapers being extinguished; and so he remained under perpetual anathema. 'Let the July Council,' says Damien, 'judge whether they can ratify an election made by a man, and the accomplices of a man, who has been cut off by such a terrible sentence from the communion of the Church, and can never be reconciled to it, even at the hour of his death.'

Peter Damien terminates this curious account by attributing the victory to himself, by the admission of the king's advocate ; and then addresses a prayer to God for the lasting union of those two poles, the priesthood and the empire.

We do not know whether, in the Council of Augsbourg, the cause of the empire was better defended than in this work of the Roman doctor ; but it is certain that from the time of the empress's absence and the increase of the Archbishop Hanno's power, Cadaloüs seems to have been forsaken by the Germans. He was, however, still supported by the Lombards; and stigmatised Alexander as a false apostle ; he conferred ordination, and addressed exhortations and letters to the Churches.

Meantime the Empress Agnes, conceiving a great disgust at Germany on the loss of her son, went to visit Aquitaine, her native province, and travelled thence to Rome, which, in spite of so many troubles, seemed to be still the most peaceable place in Europe. When she was at the head of affairs she had supported the election of the anti-pope Cadaloüs, but she was repentant now, and came to implore from Alexander II. his apostolic forgiveness.

There was nothing more natural for a princess, dissatisfied with Germany, and with those who governed it, than to seek an asylum at Rome. Perhaps, too, there was in this proceeding something of the vengeance of a queen and an offended mother ; it appeared like a notable conversion, a grace divine, in which the Church of Rome triumphed.

Twelve years before, Agnes, kneeling beside her

husband, surrounded by the nobles and knights of Germany, had been crowned in St. Peter's ; but this time she entered the city as a humble penitent. She was clad in a black woollen dress, and mounted on a wretched-looking horse, that was not much bigger than an ass.[1]

Notwithstanding this show of humility, Agnes still possessed great riches—hangings woven with gold, which she gave to ornament the churches of Rome ; and precious vases and royal ornaments, which were all consecrated to the service of the altar.[2]

She offered these gifts with joy ; and the doctors of the Roman Church congratulated her, saying, 'Thou lavishest all thou hast, thou givest all thou possessest so that thou mayest come poor and having nothing to the arms of the heavenly bridegroom.'[3] Agnes did, in fact, embrace the religious life, after having made a general confession to Peter Damien in the Church of the Holy Apostles, in presence of the people gazing on the princess, once so powerful, and a protector of schismatics, on her knees before one of the cardinals of Alexander II.[4]

Agnes dwelt thenceforth in Rome, practising all the austerities of fasting and penance. She seldom partook

[1] Vestis pulla et lanea, is cui insidebat, non dicam equus, sed potius burdo, vel burricus, vix mensuram desidis excedebat aselli.—*Pet. Damien. Epist. ad Agnetem, lib.* vii. Epist. v. p. 321.

[2] Radiantia quæque cum auro vel argento margarita dispergis, aulæa tua blattina, vel potius deaurata, templorum laquearibus appenduntur ; ornamenta regalia sacris famulantur altaribus.—*Ibid.*

[3] Cuncta projicis, cuncta dilapidas, ut ad sponsis cœlestis amplexus exonorata pro suis, immo nuda perveniss.—*Ibid.*

[4] Ut hi, qui ad apostolorum limina confluunt, sanctæ devotionis tuæ salubriter exemplum, arcana beati Petri confessione ante sacrum altare me sedere fecisti.—*Ibid.*

of the sumptuous meats with which her table was served, and appeared to be wholly detached from the world and its greatness.[1] Hildebrand, who had formerly known her in her own Court, shared the duty of consoling her with Peter Damien and Raynald, bishop of Como; he acquired an ascendancy over her which he exercised at a subsequent period to avail himself of this princess as a most docile instrument in his negociations with Henry.

The mind of Agnes had been cultivated by reading, and we observe that to console her under her change of fortune, Peter Damien provided her with the histories of all the great revolutions that had taken place in the world, the deaths of all the Roman emperors, and especially the fall of Cleopatra, so long the queen of the East.

The archdeacon, in the midst of all his power and grandeur, preserved the austere habits of an anchorite. He lived on vegetables, selecting intentionally the most insipid; he told Peter Damien that he had come to abstain entirely from leeks and onions because of the pleasure he took in their taste.

The successful election of Alexander II. soon emboldened all the opponents of the imperial investiture. At Florence the bishop, who had been instituted by Henry III., was very soon denounced as a simonist; the cry was set up by the monks of that city. They averred that the bishop's father, having come to pay

[1] Quale, rogo, est congestam ante te struem lancium, et renidentium carnium epulas per mensas circumquaque transmittere; et carnium ne ipsam pinguedinum aliquatenus degustare ?—*Pet. Damien. Epist. ad Agnetem, lib.* vii. Epist. v. p. 321.

his son a visit, was asked, 'whether he had given much to the king to procure his son's appointment.'

'By Saint Peter,' answered the father, 'you would not get as much even as a mill from the king without paying for it. I gave three thousand livres for my son's bishopric.' This story, repeated from mouth to mouth, roused the populace and the monks of Florence to fury. The bishop caused some of the most violent to be arrested, and they were put to death as public disturbers.

Some monks then went to Rome; they accused the bishop of perjury and simony, and offered to prove their words by the ordeal of fire. They were admitted into the presence of a council which Alexander had convoked to the second year of his pontificate. The greater number of the bishops who composed this assembly perceiving ground for apprehension in the intractable disposition of the monks, were anxious to pronounce in favour of the bishop of Florence. Hildebrand, almost unsupported, lauded the zeal of the monks in the punishment of heretical simony. The council, out of deference for such a determined opponent, took a middle course. They forbid the monks to go any more to the castles or towns.

'We command them,' said the decree, 'how virtuous soever they may be, to remain in their cloister conformably to the rule of Saint Benedict.' At the same time they renewed the former decrees against simony, and Peter Damien was sent to restore tranquillity in Florence. He found the city a prey to all the fury of schism.

The monks, having the mass of the people with them,

inveighed against the bishop; they protested that Simonists could neither give baptism, nor confer orders, nor celebrate mass, and that consequently Florence was deprived of the sacraments as long as her bishop was a Simonist.

The priests were all for the bishop, and were forbidden by him to communicate with the partisans of the monks.

The sage exhortations of Peter Damien had but little effect; indeed, he was himself called a heretic and a Simonist.

At length the Duke Gottfried, who had not hitherto interfered in this ecclesiastical contention, put the decree of the council in execution by threatening to hang the monks if they did not immediately return to their cloister. So they left Florence, but the proposal they had made before the council of Rome to prove their accusations was soon noised abroad, and the people came in crowds to the council, calling on them to go through the trial that was to prove their words. The monks did not refuse it, and it should appear that Gottfried and the bishop of Florence were obliged to permit it, to avoid a sedition.

At least, we hear nothing of any obstacles put forward by them. On the public *place* of Florence were raised two piles side by side; each was ten feet long, five wide, and four and a half high, and between the two piles a narrow path was left. On the appointed day the monk selected by the brethren celebrated a solemn mass. His name was Peter Aldobrandini; he was a man full of faith, simple and humble of heart, and his

employment was to tend the cows and asses belonging to the convent.

As the mass drew towards its close, four of the brethren, one of whom carried the cross, another the holy water, a third the thurible, and a fourth two lighted tapers that had been blessed, proceeded to set light to the piles.

When the flames arose, and the interval between the stacks appeared one mass of fire, Peter Aldobrandini, having finished his mass and put off the chasuble, came forward clad in the other priestly vestments, with a crucifix in one hand and his handkerchief in the other. Following him came many monks and other clerics chanting the litanies, and all the people pressed around deeply stirred by expectation and admiration. There was profound silence while one of the monks read aloud the formal promise, in virtue of which, everyone was pledged to quit the party of the bishop, if their brother Aldobrandini came unhurt out of the fire.

An universal shout arose, and Aldobrandini chanted a sort of anthem, wherein he entreated Almighty God to save him from the flames, as he once saved the young men in the burning fiery furnace, if it were true that Peter of Pavia had bought his bishopric. To this all present responded Amen, and the monk, having given his brethren the kiss of peace, entered barefoot on the path-way through the fire, and, we are told, walked slowly along it, while the flames enveloped him on either side.

The contemporaries, enemies of the bishop, have even given a most poetical account of this event. They tell us that Aldobrandini seemed to be treading on roses,

and passing along a path bordered with trees, whose leaves were strewn by the gentlest zephyrs. They add that the circling flames were seen to play harmless in the folds of his alb, and to stir the fringes of his maniple and his stole, also his beard and his hair. Lastly, to complete the prodigy, they say that the monk, having let his handkerchief drop, went back into the midst of the flames to pick it up, unscathed as before.

Certain it is that the citizens of Florence wrote a long letter to the Pope, recounting the whole of this absurd story. We see in it to what an extent an entire party may lie or deceive in a season of ignorance and prejudice.

The letter, moreover, composed by some fanatical monks, was doubtless not submitted to the inspection of all that were present.

However that be, the Church of Rome, always ready to lend a willing ear to accounts of miracles, accepted this story, and no longer refused to depose the bishop. The monk Aldobrandini was from that time called *Petrus igneus*, and the Bishop of Florence, some years after his deposition, became a monk in the convent of the monks who had been his persecutors.

Though the Pope Alexander II. was then acknowledged throughout almost all Christendom, and sent his legates to France, Spain, and Epirus, Honorius II. still held his ground in Lombardy. He had in his interest all the priests who lived with wives, in defiance of the censures of the Roman Church. The princes, too, must have been in his favour, because he did not dispute their right to dispose of bishoprics.

The Duke of Gottfried, who had at first taken up arms against him, declared for him. The duke had two chaplains, one an Italian, the other a German, who both maintained that clerics might marry, and that there was no simony in purchasing a benefice or a bishopric, provided the consecration were given gratuitously. We do not know whether the duke was carried away by their opinions, but his defalcation made a great noise in Rome. Peter Damien thus wrote to him: 'A thing unheard of has reached our ears; that has filled us with grief, and closed our lips, accustomed to utter your praises; namely, that you have opened communications with that rotten member that the Church has cut off from herself; that filthy thing named Cadaloüs. This is why the peasant cries to us from his field, the dealers in the fairs, and the soldiers in the public streets.[1]

Nevertheless, the Roman Church, fearful of losing its most powerful protector, took the course of calling a general council to decide between Alexander II. and Cadaloüs. Peter Damien wrote letters on the subject to the prince Henry and the archbishop Hanno: he congratulated the latter on having rescued the young prince and restored to him the empire, and entreated his help against Cadaloüs. 'Even,' said he, 'as Jupiter, according to the fable, came as a shower of gold into Danae's bosom, does this man, by the help of gold, seek to introduce himself, as an adulterer, into the Roman Church.' Hanno, believing his power in Germany secure, resolved to visit Italy in person, to terminate the dispute.

[1] Hunc tali viro vestram communicasse prudentiam, fossores in agro, mercatores in foro, milites vociferantur in publico.—(*Pet. Damien. Epist. ad. Gothfriedum, lib.* vii. Epist. x. p. 329).

When he came to Rome, he said to the Pope Alexander, 'How is it, my brother, that you have assumed the pontificate without the consent of the king my master, for our kings have held this right long?' But the archdeacon Hildebrand replied, asserting the contrary, with all the force of argument.

Many of the cardinals ranged themselves on his side, citing divers decisions of the Fathers, that did not solve the question. All that was settled was that a council should be held at Mantua. Hildebrand directed this matter; the cardinals, the bishops, and Peter Damien, the most respected among them, were submissive to him. He suspected the latter of not having written his letter to the Archbishop of Cologne in the exact words he had declared, and reproached him in such threatening terms, that Peter Damien replied in a letter, thus couched:

'To the Father and to the Son, the Pope and the Archdeacon, I, Peter, a monk and a sinner, and their most humble servant. I send to you the letter, on account of which you maltreat me, so that you may judge whether I have done anything against you. If I have deserved death for having written this letter, I lay down my head. Strike: but at the same time I entreat the holy demon who torments me not to be quite so cruel towards me, and that his venerable arrogance chastise me not from a distance, but rather, if only out of weariness, he should be more gentle towards his slave.'[1]

[1] De cætero sanctum meum humiliter obsecro, ut non adversum me tantopere sæviat; nec ejus veneranda superbia tam longis me verberius atterat; sed jam circa servum suum vel satiata mitescat.—*Pet. Damien. lib.* i. Epist. xvi. p. 36.

This humble and bitter irony sufficiently indicates the yoke which the imperious archdeacon imposed on his brethren. Peter Damien refused to attend the council of Mantua. The Pope Alexander went thither with Hildebrand, the Archbishop of Cologne, and his party. Alexander II. purged himself by oath of the charge of simony, and Cadaloüs was condemned. He still had, however, both money and friends; for soon after this solemn deposition, he made his way into Rome, having bribed the captains and the soldiery, and gained possession of Saint Peter's in the night.

This intelligence produced a rising of the people; and Honorius found himself abandoned by his party. But Cinci, son of the prefect of the city, and governor of the Castle of Saint Angelo, received him into that fortress, and promised to defend him. There were thus two Popes in Rome, fighting against each other. It would appear that Cinci, the prefect of the city, had espoused the party of Alexander and the Roman Church. He was a holy man, and even preached sometimes in the churches. But his son, like those Roman nobles who followed the trade of brigands, professed attachment to the party of the emperor.

The partisans of Alexander II. besieged Honorius in the Castle of Saint Angelo; the siege lasted two years, during which the council sat in the Lateran.

It was at this very period of intestine warfare that the pontifical authority signalised itself by one of the most ambitious deeds it had ever attempted. A fellow-countryman of those Normans who had become so powerful in Italy, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, coveted the kingdom of England, which was at

that time governed by his cousin Edward, who was old and childless. He feared the rivalry of Harold, one of the chiefs of those Saxon families that had conquered England six centuries before. During a visit which Harold paid to the continent, William told him that Edward had promised he should inherit his kingdom, and he asked Harold's aid in case of need, promising to do wonders for him when he should be king.

Harold gave his word lightly; and William, in order to make it binding, convoked an assembly of his barons at Bayeux, and pressed Harold to take a more solemn pledge before them.

The ceremony was wholly a religious one. A missal being laid on a cloth of gold, under which was placed a vessel containing some relics, Harold placed his hand on the sacred book, and swore never to claim the succession to his cousin the King of England.

Two years after this renunciation, so solemn and imposing in the estimation of that age, the aged Edward dying, Harold allowed himself to be proclaimed king by many of the nobility and burgesses of the kingdom, either considering the oath the Duke of Normandy had extorted from him as an empty formality, or that he was absolved from its observance by the choice of the English people.

Before attacking him, William as it were denounced him to the Church of Rome. His statement was heard before the Lateran council. Hildebrand, who perceived in this proceeding a recognition of the supremacy of the Church, and a step to be gained in the political power he claimed for it, maintained before the council what he called the just rights of the Norman prince

against one who was guilty of sacrilege and perjury. Harold was excommunicated, and William declared the lawful sovereign of England.

Many of the members of the council, nevertheless, raised their voices against this decision, which could only be carried out by a great war. They remonstrated, in Christian words, against the archdeacon's zeal to procure the slaying of so many.

Hildebrand endured their reproaches, which he afterwards utilised to make good his title with William the Conqueror, by repeating them in a letter in which he claimed of that prince the obedience and homage his predecessors had rendered to the Court of Rome. But, in the first instance, whosoever had the right in the opinion of the Church of Rome, it was necessary to appeal to arms. Hildebrand then sent to William a pontifical bull approving his enterprise, and a blessed banner embroidered with an *Agnus Dei* in gold, and containing, as it was said, one of Saint Peter's hairs: Thus the Pope, who was not in undisputed possession of Rome, disposed of distant kingdoms by sanctioning the aggressions of the boldest and strongest.

While the Roman banner was borne triumphant by the vigorous Normans in England, Alexander II. at length reduced the Castle of St. Angelo. Honorius, pressed by his enemies, was ransomed by his defenders, who exacted from him three hundred pounds of silver in payment for his escape. Honorius promised them, and succeeded in getting away in the disguise of a pilgrim. Reduced to poverty, he died in obscurity in Lombardy, styling himself the lawful pontiff to the last, and issuing bulls and canons, which he addressed

to his partisans. His death gave peace to the Church. The cardinal Hugh le Blanc had previously passed over to the party of Alexander; the other schismatics followed; and Gottfried, gained over by the entreaties of Beatrice his wife, appeared more zealous than ever for the Church of Rome. He took up arms in its cause, and obtained the restoration of some places that had been taken by the Norman princes in Apulia.

The Roman Church now seemed, by a decisive act, to have shaken off the yoke of the Empire and asserted its own independence. It had rejected the pontiff Cadaloüs elected by the emperor, and driven him to die in exile; and the pontifical chair was filled by a pope of its own choice. Not satisfied with this, it was not long before it threatened Henry with its censures; and the private life of the young prince and the licence of his court, probably exaggerated by the reports of the Church party, furnished but too many pretexts for resisting the authority of the Empire.

In his twentieth year Henry had married Bertha, the daughter of Otho, Margrave of Italy. He was soon tired of this union, and took, we are told, the most extraordinary means of breaking it.

His enemies relate that, in order to have a pretext for repudiating the queen, he placed about her one of his faithful confidants, with instructions to seduce her. The princess feigned to give a nightly rendezvous, and the pretended lover came accompanied by the king, who flattered himself he should thus convict the queen.

At the appointed hour, and at a given signal, Henry hastened to enter the queen's apartment; and the door

was shut against his accomplice; this was no sooner done than the king was assailed on all sides with sticks and stools by the queen's women, who herself, says the chronicles, urged them on, exclaiming, 'Thou son of a ——, how darest thou come hither?'[1] Henry endeavoured to make himself known, but she continued to declare that he was no husband of hers, but an adulterer who had made his way in by stealth; and the king, well covered with bruises, was at last put out of doors. Henry having had this proof of the queen's virtue, was only the more impatient to get rid of her, and therefore addressed himself to the bishops of the kingdom. A council was convoked at Mayence. Siegfried, the archbishop of that city, was favourable to the king's wishes, but Alexander and Hildebrand dispatched to this council Peter Damien, whose firmness and ardent zeal they knew well.

On hearing this, Henry IV., who had already set out for Mayence, turned back, with the intention of avoiding a meeting with the legate of Rome. Encouraged, however, by the persuasions of his courtiers, and not to disappoint the expectations of the seigneurs, he proceeded no farther than Frankfort, where he halted to hold the council.

Peter Damien, speaking in the Pope's name, upbraided him with meditating an action unworthy a Christian, and more especially a king, and entreated him not to set such an evil example to Christendom as to authorise those very crimes which it was his duty to chastise; and lastly, he threatened him with the censure ecclesiastical, and announced that the Pope

[1] Fili meritricis, unde tibi hæc audacia?—*Historia Sax. Belli*, p. 102.

would never crown him emperor if he persisted in his criminal intentions.

Almost all the nobles, already unfriendly to Henry, rallied round the Roman legate. They lauded the conduct of the pontiff, and entreated the king, in the name of God, not to sully his glory, and to spare the relations of the queen an outrage which could not fail to put arms in their hands if they had a spark of feeling. Henry, conquered rather than convinced, promised to give up his design; but, to spite the queen, and avoid a meeting with her, took his way to Saxony, in company with some of his knights. The queen, surrounded by all the seigneurs, followed him to Goslar, where he finally consented to see her, and treated her with more gentleness.

While the Roman Church thus gained a sort of victory over Henry in Germany, it received from England the interested homage of the Norman usurper, whose invasion it had sanctioned. William the Conqueror made all haste to send to Rome much gold and silver and precious ornaments, together with the standard of the unfortunate Harold, who was slain on the field of battle.[1]

The Pope profited by this opportunity to remind the conqueror of the ancient tax paid by England to the Holy See. 'Thou knowest,' he wrote, 'that the kingdom of England, from the time it learned to glorify the name of Christ, remained under the guidance of the Prince of the Apostles, until some men, limbs of Satan and rivals in pride of their father the devil, abjured the pact of God, and turned the English people from the way of truth.'

[1] *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. i. p. 446.

After these words, which were made a pretext for the conqueror's after-proceedings, the Pope added: 'As thou, moreover, well knowest, as long as the English were faithful, they paid, in acknowledgment of the blessing of the faith, a yearly tax, part of which was received by the Holy See, and the rest devoted to the Church of St. Mary, the English School.' William, who considered he might require the help of the Pope against the clergy of the conquered land, was docile to the Pope's request. 'Every freeman,' said one of his laws, 'who shall possess lands to the value of thirty deniers, shall pay the tax to St. Peter, conformably to the laws of the Danes.'[1]

As the reward of his zeal, the conqueror desired to obtain the aid of the Roman Church in his design of expropriating the bishops and rich abbots of the country, and bestowing their sees and benefices on his Normans. Many Saxon priests had fallen in battle; but William, far from asking absolution on that account, was only thinking how he should despoil those that remained. The counsels of Hildebrand, which, by his own admission, had seconded William's murderous expeditions, were not less favourable to these spoliations. Three legates were sent from Rome to enquire into the conduct of the English clergy. William, who pillaged without scruple the rich Saxon convents, sparing neither the vessels of their altars nor the coffins of their dead, received the Roman envoys with great respect, 'honouring them and listening to their words,' says an old chronicler, 'as if they had been angels of God.' On their side they publicly

[1] Franc-home.

set the crown on William's head, and confirmed his title as King of England. The legates then announced that they were charged by letters apostolic, addressed to the English bishops and abbots, to enquire into their morals, and to repair the decay of their faith; and proceeded, in the presence of William and the principal Normans, to convoke a council, in which the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of East Anglia, the Bishop of Sussex, the Bishop of Durham, and many others who were distrusted by the king, were deposed, and soon after either shut up in cloisters or forced to fly their country. As successor to the Archbishop of Canterbury—who had formerly had a quarrel with the Church of Rome, and was also guilty in the king's eyes as having been faithful to Harold — the three legates proposed Lanfranc, the confidant of William, and his former ambassador to the Pope.

Lanfranc, no less ambitious than able, was no sooner put in possession of the see of Canterbury than he desired for it the primacy over all the other sees of England. This right was disputed by the Archbishop of York, who, like himself, had been newly elected, but whose predecessors had crowned the Saxon kings. Lanfranc, having William on his side, procured the decision in his favour; he then sent the account of the affair to Rome, in order to secure the approbation of the pontiff, and at the same time recalled to Hildebrand the old friendship that had existed between them. 'My soul,' wrote he to the archdeacon, 'cannot express in a letter the affection by which it is united

to you, or with what pleasure I recall all the kindness which, present or absent, I have received from you.'

He adds wishes that a long life may be granted to the archdeacon, for the honour and stability of the Church, and entreats him to read his reasons for his request with attention, and to grant him the privilege he asks.

Hildebrand replied: 'We have attentively read the words you have sent unto us; but we feel a lively regret that the rules established do not allow us to transmit to you the privilege you desire. But let not your prudence be offended at this; for if we could have found that the same thing had ever been accorded to any other archbishop of your time, we would have hastened to confer on you this honour without its causing you any fatigue. But it is not so; and therefore we consider it necessary that you should visit in person the city of the Apostles, in order that we may together examine into this point and others, and decide what shall be done. Further, if our envoys reach you, receive them with your accustomed charity; they will whisper in your ear: "Be careful to do that which beseems a cherished son of the Church and a good priest."'

We see, from this letter, how careful was the Church of Rome, while abandoning the unfortunate clergy of the conquered Church to William, to secure the obedience of the new clergy brought in by the Conquest.

Lanfranc soon arrived at Rome with the Archbishop of York, who, in deference to William's menaces, had ceased to dispute the episcopal supremacy of England, and both received the pallium from the Pope.

The Pope Alexander II. rose up to salute Lanfranc; remembering, he said, that he had formerly been his disciple in the abbey of Bec.

Many complaints had already reached Rome of the great harshness with which William treated the native clergy. The Church of Rome, and more especially the equitable and austere Hildebrand, did not intentionally fall in with the abuse exercised by conquest, and the asserted licence of manners; but the usually untractable spirit of the Saxon clergy, contrasted with the eager zeal of the new Norman prelates, had great influence over the Pope and his counsellors. The complaints of the weak and the vanquished, the claims made by the dispossessed prelates, the rich abbeys despoiled, were all lost sight of in the consideration of the good that would accrue to the Church from a more discreet and more submissive clergy. These conditions, however, were not always fulfilled, and some of the wealthy benefices of England passed into unworthy hands. But these unfortunate instances were redeemed by the number of those men that were judiciously chosen, and by the spirit of order and discipline with which Lanfranc inspired the priests of the school of which he was the head. By his unflagging activity, his austerity, his love of justice, and of the rule of his order, Lanfranc's nature sympathised with Hildebrand's; and that circumstance must have seconded the policy of William, and the execution of his designs for a total change in the English clergy.

The Archbishop of Canterbury made but a short stay in Rome, and, on his arrival in England, he presented a letter to William from the Pope Alexander II.,

reminding the Norman prince that the King of Kings, the Supreme Arbiter of all, would surely demand from him an account of the kingdom he had transferred to him. 'We exhort,' he said, 'your glory to confide in the counsels and advice of our brother Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the most eminent of the children of the Church, and whom we grieve is not always with us; but the good he will do for the Church in your kingdom is a consolation to us for his absence.'

At the same time he appointed him, in a manner, his perpetual legate in England, by conferring on him the right of judging without appeal all ecclesiastical disputes in the kingdom.

Invested with this authority, the primate of Canterbury could the more easily and more expeditiously assist the designs of William; but he was, on that very account, the more jealous for the Roman Church, from which he had received such high authority.

At the same time that William consented to pay the tax claimed by the Church of Rome, the Pope Alexander II. made a similar demand on the King of Denmark. 'We admonish you,' said he, 'to send us on account of your kingdom the tax which your predecessors were in the habit of paying to the Holy Apostolic Church.'

In this way the power of the Roman Church spread and strengthened. Peacefully united to the two most enterprising sovereignties of the time, the Norman dukes of Apulia, and the Norman conqueror of England, it was readily respected by all the rest of Europe. The legates went in all liberty into France to hold

councils and to judge ecclesiastical disputes. Cardinal Hugh le Blanc, the same who had been so zealous in the cause of Cadaloüs, went, in the Pope's name, into Spain, to alter the Mozarabic rite ; Denmark payed an annual tribute to Rome ; the bishops of Dalmatia and Sclavonia came to receive the pallium from the Pope. The dispute with Constantinople, even, seemed to have died away; and on the accession of the Emperor Michael VII. Alexander II. sent a legate to him, who returned with rich presents ; among the number were two brazen gates of rare workmanship. The Pope placed them in the Church of Saint Paul, and gave to one the name of Hildebrand, and to the other that of the consul for the time being. This is the only fact from which we know that the office of consul still existed in Rome.

Thus powerful abroad, the Church of Rome was also more free at home. She had no longer a prefect nominated by the Emperor; Henry not having come to Rome to be crowned, had not, so to say, established his right of sovereignty. No money was coined in his image, and if there still existed in the city some offices that had been created by the Emperor, they were mere titles, conferring no power. And moreover, the duration and the glory of Alexander's pontificate, and the firmness of his chief counsellor, the cardinal Hildebrand, had surmounted the disorders which were bred in the city, from the audacity and impunity of some of the castellans. Obedience was established, but to the advantage of the Church, and without the intervention of the Empire.

In Germany, meantime, the troubles of Henry were increased by the violence and avarice of the bishops

around him. Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, had long laid claim to the tithes in Thuringia. Henry seconded him with all his power, hoping thereby to attach him more closely to himself; but Siegfried applied at the same time to the Roman Church, he would be indebted to it alone. He called upon it to pronounce its anathema on the poor peasants of Thuringia, rebels as he called them, and against whom he also invoked the rigour of Henry and his soldiers.

In this matter the archbishop particularly endeavoured to conciliate the favour of Hildebrand, and even to win him to his cause by very temporal interests. In a letter which he wrote to him from Mayence, and in which he styles him archdeacon and archchancellor of the Roman Church, after having thanked him for his constant protection, he expresses a lively wish to be able to make some return. 'Without doubt,' he says, 'in the great number of the Church's affairs of which you are the depositary, you seek only the glory of God, and you handle earthly things to put them in order only, not to possess them. Still, as it is necessary for him whose pleasure is to give, to have much of his own to bestow in the name of God, we beg to inform your charity that if aught we have would be agreeable to you, as soon as we shall know it it shall become yours. Who, indeed, could fail to love so great a man, or who refuse him anything?'

The archbishop at the same time craved the admission of his envoys to the presence of Hildebrand, in order that, in a provincial synod which he purposed holding, he might pronounce the anathema on the Thuringians, in the name and with the authorisation of the See Apostolic.

His request was granted without any demur; and notwithstanding the archbishop's offer, there is no reason to believe that on this occasion the powerful archdeacon sought any interest but that of the Church.

But this ecclesiastical tyranny drove the inhabitants into revolt. The Archbishop of Mayence held the council he had announced, and there decided whatever he and the emperor pleased; but many of the inhabitants of the province said they should appeal to the Pope. Two abbots, those of Fulda and Herfeld, who considered themselves the lawful recipients of the tithes claimed by the archbishop, upheld this appeal, and were equally desirous of going to the court of Rome to state their objections against the council; but Henry swore that if anyone should dare appeal, he should be punished with death, and his lands laid waste.

When this resolution of the young king was reported at Rome, the Pope and his cardinals exhibited their displeasure. They had, besides, a weightier reason of complaint against him. They accused Henry of paying his troops with the moneys of the Church, and with the sale of benefices. Hildebrand and his most faithful partisans spoke of this abuse with indignation. Instigated by their counsels, the Pope wrote to Henry, citing him to appear at Rome, and to vindicate himself of the crimes of which he was accused before the tribunal of the Church.

This manner of proceeding against a king was hitherto unheard of. Saint Ambrose had shut out from the Church Theodosius, stained as he was with his subjects' blood; the bishops of France had condemned Louis le Débonnaire to a humiliating penance; but the Pope

had never before summoned a king to his tribunal. The undertaking was a bold one, but it was not given to Pope Alexander II. to carry it out; he died in the same year in which he agitated this great question, and before Henry had deigned to answer him.

BOOK III.

1073–1074.

On the 21st of April 1073, towards the evening, Alexander II. expired. Hildebrand was the ruling power then, as he had been through all his pontificate. Rome was not disturbed. No move was made by the Roman nobles, and the people who generally, on the death of a pope, gave themselves up to licence and pillage, remained quiet, and under the hand of a present master.

The archdeacon gave the necessary orders for the pontiff's funeral the next day, and appointed many days of fasting and public prayer. According to the canons, or at least to ancient usage, it was not allowable to elect a successor to the new pope till the third day after the funeral of the last. A fundamental decree, given under the pontificate of Nicholas II. by the advice of Hildebrand, regulates, as we have seen, the mode of this election, by conferring it on the college of cardinals, whose choice was to be confirmed by the acclamations of the people, and the consent of the King of Germany and Italy. The ardour of the partisans of Hildebrand did not wait for all these formalities, which he himself had helped to prescribe. His enemies have implied that he used many efforts to accomplish

his election; they were not required. It would seem that, after having created and guided so many popes, his own turn to reign had naturally come. Besides, for the simple reason that affairs were becoming embroiled in the direction of Germany, the boldest defender of the Church was the head it required.

The recent decrees of Alexander II. summoning King Henry to the bar of the council of Rome, made it impossible to choose any other pope than Hildebrand, the intrepid adviser of this bold step. He alone stood on an elevation from which he could strike the emperor.

The people understood this at once. Scarcely had the body of Alexander been carried into Saint John Lateran, than priests and people pressed to the church, thronging round the archdeacon, who was engaged in the funeral ceremony, exclaiming, 'Hildebrand is Pope; blessed Peter has elected Hildebrand.'[1] Whether it were dissimulation, or a religious and sincere terror at the near prospect of this pontifical dignity which he desired to see carried so high, he resisted, he protested, he tried to reach the pulpit, so as to address the people from it. One of the cardinals, Hugh le Blanc, a schismatic in the time of Cadaloüs, but now a passionate admirer of the archdeacon whom he was to desert at a future day, pushed before him, and, taking possession of the pulpit, spoke as though he already heard the vote of the sacred college:—

'My dear brethren, you know of a truth that from the time of the holy Pope Leo, this archdeacon is the

[1] Dum Hildebrandus, archidiaconus, esset in ejus, obsequiis occupatus, repente factus est in ipsâ ecclesia maximus cleri ac populi Romani concursus clamantium et dicentium: Hildebrandum archidiaconum beatus Petrus elegit.—*Act. Vatic. Baron.* vol. xvii. p. 355.

man who, by his experience and wisdom has most contributed to the exaltation of the Church, and that he delivered this city from great perils. As we cannot find any other more able in Church government, we, the bishops and cardinals have unanimously elected him for ourselves and for you, to be the shepherd and bishop of our souls.'

All the clergy and people replied by acclamations: 'Saint Peter has chosen the Lord Gregory to be Pope.' This name was doubtless suggested by Gregory himself, in memory of the patron he had followed to Germany, and there beheld him die a captive. By adopting it he pledged himself to merit the same fate, if need were, by the same constancy; or rather, he marked the remembrance he retained of this persecution, and the reprisals he meant to exact. However that be, he no longer resisted the wishes of the people; he allowed the scarlet robe to be put upon him. He was not yet consecrated, but he was enthroned in the chair of Peter, wearing the pontifical mitre with its two golden circlets, one of which bore the words 'Crown Royal, bestowed by God,' and the other, 'Crown Imperial, given by the hand of Peter'—an expressive symbol, which figured the quarrel already begun, by proclaiming the subordination of the emperor to the pontiff-king.

Nevertheless, by one of those contradictions which are but traits of prudence joined to the ardour of passion, Gregory VII., respecting the decree of Nicholas II., declared he would not allow himself to be consecrated without the consent of the King of Germany; but nothing indicates this condition in the decree of election, which is not even dated in Henry's reign, and specifies

only the suffrages of the cardinals and the consent of the people.

'Under the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, the year 1073 of his miraculous incarnation, the eleventh indiction, the tenth of the calends of May, second feria, the day of the funeral of our Lord Pope Alexander II. of blessed memory, in order that the Apostolic See may not long weep, being deprived of its pastor, we, having met in the basilica of Saint Peter in Chains, we, the members of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, cardinals, bishops, clerks, acolytes, sub-deacons, deacons, and priests, in presence of the venerable bishops and abbots, with the consent of the monks, and amid the acclamations of great numbers of both sexes and divers orders, elect as our pastor and sovereign pontiff a holy man, learned in matters human and divine, a lover of justice and equity, courageous under misfortune, moderate in prosperity, and, in the words of the Apostle, an example of good manners, chaste, modest, temperate, hospitable, knowing well how to regulate his own house, nobly educated, and taught from his childhood in the bosom of this very Church, and promoted on account of his exemplary life to the honours of the archdeaconate; this man is the Archdeacon Hildebrand, whom we will now and henceforth have, and whom we name Gregory and pope. "Will ye have him?" "Yea, we will." "Do you approve his election?" "We approve it."'

Nevertheless, Gregory VII., swayed by divers motives and under the influence of a train of pious reasoning and haughty scruples, which, at the distance of centuries, seem strange to us, immediately dispatched a deputation

to the King of Germany. He begged him 'not to ratify the election.' 'That if he did he would have reason to repent of it: his sins being too grave and too notorious to remain unpunished.' However, this message, of which we first hear two hundred years after the event, seems very doubtful, and is discredited by known facts.

Far from raising up delays to his elevation, Gregory neglected nothing that could smooth all obstacles.

We must read his own account of his hasty and tumultuous election, in a letter which he wrote the day after to Didier, abbot of Monte Cassino. It is the official account, which, with slight variations, was sent to Gisulph, Prince of Salerno, to Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, to the Duchess Beatrice, to Hugh, abbot of Cluny, to the King of Denmark, and to almost all the kings, princes, prelates, and superior clergy throughout Christendom.

'Gregory, elected pontiff of Rome, to Didier, abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino, greeting in Christ Jesus.

'Our last Pope Alexander is dead;' his death has been a great blow for me, and has shaken my whole being. On this occasion the Roman people have remained so quiet, contrary to their custom, and have allowed themselves to be so entirely guided by us, that it was evidently the effect of the divine mercy. Taking counsel, we decided that, after three days' fasting, reciting of litanies, public prayer, and almsgiving, we would, by God's help, fix a convenient day for the election of another pope.

'But all at once, just as our lord pope aforesaid had been laid in his tomb in the Church of Saint Saviour,

there arose among the people a great noise and tumult; they rushed upon me like madmen, so that I could say with the prophet, "The waves have gone over my soul. I cried aloud till my throat was parched and my voice hoarse." I can say further "that fear and trembling came upon me, and that darkness fell upon me;" but, as I am now confined to my bed, worn out with fatigue, and cannot dictate this letter without difficulty, I defer the full relation of all I have suffered.'

The pontiff ended this letter by asking the prayers of the abbot and the brethren, that he may be protected in the peril into which he had been cast. He entreated the abbot to come to him speedily, to help him with his counsels, and charges him with his salutations to the Empress Agnes, who had been an inhabitant of Monte Cassino for some months, and to Raynald, bishop of Como, who was her confessor. 'Entreat them faithfully from us,' he said, 'to prove themselves at this day all that they have each been in affection towards us.'

Is it not evident, both by the admissions and the reservations in this letter, that Gregory could not gainsay the irregular precipitancy of his election, and that, under his feigned grief and humility, he was endeavouring to secure himself a mediatrix with Henry?

The Abbot of Monte Cassino having arrived at Rome a few days after the receipt of the letter, it is said that Gregory saluted him with the words, 'You have been a long time coming, brother,' and that the abbot replied, 'And you, Gregory, made good haste to fill the apostolic chair before our lord the Pope was buried.' But this anecdote, related by an enemy, seems doubtful, and the constant zeal of Didier in the pontifical cause, as well

as Gregory's eagerness in summoning him to his presence, does not lend much probability to this epigram, repeated only long after the interview.

The letter of Gregory to the Archbishop of Ravenna contains similar politic precautions to those we have cited. After the same recital of the violence put upon him by the people, 'I pray you,' he says, 'let the affection that you promised to have for the Church and for me in particular, as you may remember, be, now that time and circumstances require it, shown forth, if not for my merits, at least for love of the Apostles Peter and Paul. Call on your suffragans and the sons of Jesus Christ to entreat God for me, that He may give me strength and stretch out His hand to help me to sustain the burden He has laid upon me in spite of my refusal and my resistance. And, loving you with sincere affection, I ask of you a similar return, with all the good offices that implies. Your friendship cannot doubt our desire, by God's help, so to unite the Roman Church, and that over which you preside, by such concord and, in so far as the honour of each will permit, by so many ties of charity, that our souls may be joined together for ever by complete affection and peace uninterrupted. I exhort your prudence to hereunto, and know you further by this letter of my wish and desire that we may exchange frequent messages between us, and so enjoy mutual consolation.'

In this tone of equality, and in these affectionate words from Gregory VII. to Guibert, we perceive the importance which the Church of Ravenna still possessed, and the great foresight which enabled the new Pope to distinguish at that time his future antagonists.

In conciliating the archbishop thus, Gregory showed himself none the less resolute to cede nothing to him, nor less ready to give him to understand his resolutions.

Soon after this letter had been written, Gregory learned that Guibert had exacted from the inhabitants of Imola, in the diocese of Ravenna, an oath of fidelity to himself, very different from that which bound them to the Roman Church, and he complained of this to Count Guido, the Seigneur of Imola. 'The report of such a circumstance,' wrote he, 'has astonished us all the more, seeing that the fraternal charity and sacerdotal probity we had long remarked in Guibert removed all suspicion. We cannot believe that a man so prudent, and who has himself sworn fidelity to the Prince of the Apostles, should be so forgetful of himself and of the rank he holds, as to entice to perjury those who have taken the same oath as he, and to exact from them oaths prescribed by himself.' Then he charges and prays the Count Guido, in case the above-named archbishop or any other person should endeavour to divert the inhabitants of Imola from their allegiance to the Holy See, to take up arms against them pending the arrival of the legates. 'We ardently desire,' he adds, 'to be at peace with all the world, if it be possible. But for those who seek to aggrandise themselves to the prejudice of St. Peter, whose servants we are, by the help of God's grace and His justice we shall not hesitate to oppose their endeavours.' Guibert immediately gave way; and thus the quarrel, that was to burst out upon the presence of graver interests, arose; we note here its earliest origin.

The same caution on the part of Gregory is seen in

a reply to the Duke Gottfried, who, though attached to the cause of Henry, had, no doubt out of deference to the wishes of Beatrice and Matilda, written to congratulate the new Pope on his election.

In thanking him, Gregory complains that this promotion, which is the joy of the faithful, is for him only a source of interior bitterness and anguish. 'We behold,' writes he, 'the cares that surround us, we feel the burden that is laid on us; and when our conscience and our infirmity tremble under its weight, our soul desires the dissolution of the body, rather than a life so full of peril. The contemplation of the duty which is confided to us begets in us such inquietude, that if we were not sustained by some confidence in the prayers of holy men, our spirit would faint under the immensity of the cares which press upon us; for, by reason of sin, the world is in this fearful situation, that nearly all, and particularly those who are prelates of the Church, seek to humble it, instead of defending and honouring it, and, in their greed of gain and worldly glory, become the enemies of all that regard religion and the honour of God—a grief all the greater for us, having in this difficult crisis been placed at the helm of the universal Church, cannot either direct it successfully or abandon it safely.'

In the midst of these complaints, uttered in such a tone of conviction and sincerity, Gregory neglected no consideration of temporal prudence in his manner of speaking of Henry to the Count Gottfried; and his expressions on this head are a further proof that the message he had just sent to Germany could have had nothing in it of an offensive or provocative nature. 'We

would have you know,' says he, 'all our thoughts and wishes in the king's regard. None, as we believe, are more careful than ourselves for his glory, present and future, or desire it more ardently. For it is our intention at the first favourable moment to entertain him by our legates, with the affection and vigilance of a father, regarding those things that appear to us to touch the prosperity of the Church and the honour of the throne. If he listen to us, we shall rejoice in his salvation, even as in our own, and he can assuredly only work out that salvation by listening to our warnings and our counsels in the way of justice. But if (which we desire not) he render us hate for love, and if, despising the mercy of God, he only repays with contempt the honour he has received, the sentence "Cursed be he that turns aside his sword from blood," will not, thanks be to God, fall on us. For it is not possible for us to sacrifice the laws of God to personal considerations, or to quit the path of justice for human favour; the Apostle says:—"If I should please men, I should not be the servant of God." '

While Gregory VII. was still awaiting the reply of Henry—taking as yet only the title of Pope Elect—he already asserted his daring supremacy. He was timid and reserved in the direction of Germany, but his pretensions embraced the rest of Christendom; it is true everything seemed to favour them—the situation of the peoples as much as their prejudices. The empire of the West had passed away for ever, with the splendid reigns of Charlemagne and the Othos; it was either divided into independent provinces or petty sovereignties, which required the countenance of the Church of

Rome to make them respected by the people. Italy was divided between the distant and ill-settled sovereignty of the King of Germany, the power of Beatrice and Matilda, both devoted to the Holy See, the still recent conquests of the Norman adventurers, some weak Greek garrisons still remaining in the remote parts of Calabria, the principalities of Salerno, and the rising republic of Venice. Beyond the bounds of Italy, the Christians of Spain, so long kept down by the Moors, received in the Church of Rome the protector they desired against their old enemies. In France the people still remembered the excommunication pronounced against the son of Hugh Capet; and a rich and powerful clergy venerated the Church of Rome as the source of its own power. It appeared as if England, recently conquered under the standard of Saint Peter, would be more tractable to the Holy See in the hands of its new possessors than it had been in those of the Saxons. The kingdoms of the North, Denmark and Sweden, but recently converted to Christianity, were, in their ignorance, still more ready to receive the yoke and the instructions of the Roman Church.

Thus everything favoured the lofty pretensions of Hildebrand, and excited him to pursue in his own name, the plans he had sketched out under so many of his predecessors in the pontificate.

In the very first days after his election he bestirred himself in this spirit, to submit more completely to the Roman Church those provinces of Spain which had recently shaken off the Moorish yoke. He selected as legate the cardinal Hugh le Blanc, whose ardour

in his cause he had just witnessed, in the momentous crisis of his election.

The austere pontiff was no doubt acquainted with the misdeeds of Hugh, and knew what there was to be feared from his unstable and violent disposition; but his present devotedness covered all things in the Pope's eyes. Wishing to secure for him the support of the order of Cluny (which was especially numerous in Spain), he wrote to his legates in France to obtain from the abbot Hugh some of his monks to accompany Hugh le Blanc to Spain, and to assist him by their advice and labours. Foreseeing the repugnance which his choice of an ambassador might inspire at Cluny, he begged the legates to do their best to remove the prejudices of the abbot and his brethren. 'This man, said he of Hugh le Blanc, 'has had no choice in the matter; but entering into our thoughts and hopes, he is united to us in one and the same will and desire; and we have reason to know that the things that were imputed to him in the lifetime of our lord seigneur the pope defunct, proceeded less from his fault than from the faults of others.' Thus the severe pontiff employed, without scruple, a corrupt but tractable man, in whom, at a later day, he found his most bitter enemy.

Perhaps Gregory wished to reward him, perhaps to have him at a distance; but, knowing his active energy, he sent him to Spain to promote and keep a watch over the crusade headed by the Count Rouci, and to claim tribute to the Holy See from all the lands that should be taken from the infidels.

The Count Rouci, brother-in-law of Sancho, King of Arragon, having deposited in the hands of the

Archdeacon Hildebrand, at Rome, a written promise (wherein he acknowledged himself a vassal of the Holy See) in regard of the possessions he should conquer in Spain, had deferred his enterprises, fearing, no doubt, as many obstacles on the part of the Christian princes of the country as from the Moors. Gregory VII. pressed his two legates in France on this point, taxing them with dilatoriness; and at the same time he wrote to the Christian kings of Spain, and all other princes who might be tempted to join this species of crusade, to remind them of the conditions the Roman Church had attached to the enterprise. In this instance, too, though he still only styled himself Pontiff Elect, he already manifests that claim to future and absolute sovereignty which he afterwards extended to all the known kingdoms of the world. 'Ye are not ignorant,' he says, 'that the kingdom of Spain was in ancient times the possession of Saint Peter; and that at the present time, all invaded by pagans as it is, the right has not lapsed; it belongs to no mortal man, but to the Holy See alone; for, by the will of God, that which has once passed into the possession of the Church may cease to be to its benefit, but cannot be cut off from its dominion except by legitimate concession.'

This was not all; the pontiff, in reiterating the conditions imposed on Count Rouci, and offering to all those who should, like him, undertake the conquest of the Saracens in Spain, adds these inflexible words: 'I will that ye all know that if ye be not fully determined to acquit the just claim of Saint Peter on this kingdom, we shall array against you the fulness of the apostolic authority, and we will interdict to you the

possession of this country, rather than see the Holy Church Universal suffer from her sons the same injury as from her enemies; wounded still less in the loss of her property than in that of their souls; and to this end we have sent our well-beloved son Hugh, Cardinal-priest of the Holy Roman Church, putting into his mouth our counsels and our desires, which he will the more fully explain to you, and execute in our stead.'

Nevertheless, at the very time at which these successive acts of possession took place, the pontiff's title was still matter of discussion at the German Court. King Henry, on receiving the new Pope's message, had hesitated awhile as to the line of conduct he should pursue. Many of the bishops of Germany and Lombardy, who dreaded for themselves the violent zeal and severe inquisition of Hildebrand armed with the pontifical power, counselled together to address the king. They entreated him to annul an election that had been made without his orders, prophesying that, if he did not hasten to cut short the violence of this man, he would one day suffer for it.[1]

On the other side, Henry, young, and not very solidly established, feared not only in Italy, but in Germany itself and in his own Court, the sudden alliance of some of the great vassals with the Church of Rome. He hesitated to pronounce a refusal. In this embarrassment he sent one of his favourites, the Count Eberhard, to

[1] Episcopi Galliarum protinus grandi scrupulo permoveri cœperunt ne vir vehementis ingenii et acris erga Deum fidei discretius eos pro negligentiis suis quandoque discuteret; atque ideo communibus omnes consiliis regem adorti orabant, ut electionem quæ injussu ejus facta fuerat irritam fore decerneret.—*Lamb. Schaf.* p. 191.

enquire of the chief men of Rome what had induced them, contrary to custom, to make a pontifical election without consulting him; and if the reply were not satisfactory, to summon the new Pope to abdicate immediately.

Gregory received the German Ambassador with the greatest respect, and having listened to the king's orders, he replied, taking God to witness that he had not sought this supreme honour, but that the Romans had elected him, and that the government of the Church had been imposed on him by force; that, nevertheless, nothing could have induced him to allow himself to be consecrated until he should have learnt by a certain message that the king and the nobles of the Teutonic kingdom approved of his election; that he had deferred receiving his ordination from this motive, and would defer it still until the will of the king should be communicated to him.[1]

While he was thus cautious with Henry's envoy, his real intention is visible in a letter to Beatrice and Matilda. 'Our will,' said he, 'as regards the king, as you have already perceived from our letters, is to send to him holy men, whose words may bring him back to the love of Holy Mother Church, his mother, and who may labour for us by instructing him and transforming him so that he may be worthy of receiving the Empire. But if, contrary to our desire, he disdain to listen to us,

[1] Is benigne à prædicto viro susceptus est et respondit se Deo teste hujus honoris apicem nunquam per ambitionem affectasse, sed electum se a Romanis, cogi tamen nullo modo potuisse ut ordinari se permitteret donec in electionem suam tam regam quam principes Teutonici regni consensisse certâ legatione cognoscerat. Hâc ratione distulisse adhuc ordinationem suam et sine dubio dilaturum.—*Lamb. Schaf.* p. 191.

we ought not, and we shall not, depart from the rule of the Holy Roman Church, our mother, who has nourished us, and who has often raised up from the very blood of her children other sons. And certainly it is better for us to shed our own blood in the defence of truth, and in resisting Henry for his soul's salvation, than, by consenting to iniquity to do him pleasure, we should fall with him into the pit. Adieu, dear children in Jesus Christ, and be assured that we hold you affectionately in the depth of our heart.'

At the same time Gregory VII. advised the two princesses to shun all communication with the Lombard bishops, to refuse all compromise and all worldly considerations.

Meantime, in virtue of the report of the Count Eberhard, and doubtless in consideration of the state of affairs at Rome and of the powerful party dominant at Rome, the Court of Germany accepted Hildebrand's explanations as valid. And Henry, in giving his consent to the election, charged the Bishop of Verceil, Chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, to be present in his name at the consecration of the new Pope.

Hildebrand, who up to that time had not been ordained priest, though he governed the Church, was ordained in the octave of Pentecost, and a few days afterwards, on June 30, the day after the feast of Saint Peter, he was solemnly consecrated Pope.

After this ceremony Gregory passed a few days at Rome, and there issued a bull to all the faithful of Lombardy, announcing to them the excommunication of Godfrey, who, during the lifetime of Guido, Archbishop of Milan, had seized on that Church, and had, to repeat

the Pope's strong expression, prostituted the spouse of Christ to the devil. In this pontifical brief Gregory VII. did not as yet publicly accuse the King of Germany; but he attacked a bishop who had been nominated by him, and thus began the struggle that was to last so long.

At the same time he took advantage of an opportunity to effect a reconciliation with the Greek Emperor Michael, who had addressed a letter of congratulation to him by the hands of two monks, who were commissioned to sound his ideas as to the means of reuniting the two Churches. Not finding such a channel of communication worthy of his confidence, Gregory sent his answers by the Patriarch of Venice, an eminent prelate, and one sure to please at the Court of Constantinople, of which Venice was then a dependency. The pontiff concludes his letter by saluting the Greek Emperor by the title of Majesty, and expressed his desire of renewing the ancient alliance existing between the two Churches, and of being, as far as in him lay, at peace with all men.

In the early days of July Gregory VII. quitted Rome with a suite of cardinals and bishops to visit the cities in the Roman States, and to see for himself what he had to hope or fear from the Norman princes, troublesome allies of the Church, but the natural enemies of the King of Germany. He went first to Monte Cassino, and left the monastery accompanied by the Abbot Didier for Benevento, which the Emperor Henry III. had ceded to the Pontifical See, leaving the rest of the principality to the descendants of the old Lombard dukes. He there received the homage of Landulph,

the last of these princes, and imposed on him a declaration setting forth 'that, if ever he were unfaithful to the Roman Church, whether the Pope or his successors, and if he should seek by any means to weaken the Beneventine State, or if, without the consent of the Pope or his delegates, he should grant any investiture, or if, in concert with the men of Benevento or others, he should seek to impose or receive oaths, or if, finally, of himself or by an agent, he should endeavour in any wise to do injury to any one of the faithful of the Roman Church, and should not be able to clear himself before the tribunal of the Lord Apostolic, he should instantly be deprived of his dignity.'

In this language of absolute submission we read the weakness of the Lombard domination, giving way at every point, and seeking a protection against the neighbouring Norman invaders.

With those Gregory treated on quite a different footing. Knowing the jealousy which Richard, Count of Averso, who had become master of Capua, nourished against his brother Robert, Duke of Calabria, he went in all confidence to Capua. In order to procure the recognition of the title of prince, which he had assumed since his conquest, Richard willingly consented to take the oath of fidelity and homage, as Robert had formerly done to Nicholas II. We find the same expressions, the same feudal oath, the same pledge not to enter into any plot or enterprise having for its object to slay, mutilate, or traitorously detain the Pope, and to aid him to hold and to defend against all comers the domains of Saint Peter; the same promise neither to invade, occupy, nor even pillage in the principalities of Saint Peter, without

the express permission of the Pope or his successors. A tribute was also similarly stipulated; only one clause was new, and it had the appearance of a weapon kept in reserve against Henry. 'As to King Henry,' said Richard, in his oath to the Pope, 'I swear fidelity to him, according to the instructions I shall have received from thee or thy successors, and always saving my fidelity to the Roman Church.'

During this journey, and even from the palace of the Norman chief, Gregory followed the affairs of Germany, and sought in that country a more powerful auxiliary against Henry. The Duke of Suabia, Rudolph of Rheinfelden, had even forestalled him in this project, and wrote to him to assure him of his zeal, and to proffer his mediation. Gregory replied to him from Capua: 'We would have your Seigneurie to know that towards the King Henry, to whom we are united by the fact that we elected him king, and that also his father the Emperor Henry of honoured memory distinguished him particularly among all the Italians at his Court, and when he was dying recommended his son to the care of the Roman Church by the medium of the Pope Victor, we have no ill will, nor any other Christian man.'[1] But at the same time he pressed the Duke Rudolph to come and confer with him and with the Empress Agnes, the Countess Beatrice, Raynald, Bishop of Como, and

[1] Unde nobilitatem tuam scire volumus quia non solum circà regem Henricum, cui debitores exsistimus ex eo quod ipsum in regem elegimus, et pater ejus laudandæ memoriæ, Henricus imperator, inter omnes Italicos in curiâ suâ speciale, honore me tractavit, quodque etiam moriens ipse Romanæ ecclesiæ per venerandæ memoriæ papam Victorem prædictum suum filium commendavit aliquam malevolentiam non observamus, sed neque aliquem Christianum hominem.—*Act. Concil.* p. 1211.

other God-fearing persons. He promised to communicate to him all his designs and intentions, and to modify them, if need were, in agreement with his own.[1] 'We pray you then,' said he, at the close of his letter, 'to set yourself to increase in fidelity to Saint Peter, and not to delay visiting the threshold of his house, both out of motives of piety and of considerations of interest.' At the same time he announced this project of a conference to Raynald, Bishop of Como, who was at that time an object of aversion to the Lombard schismatics on account of his zeal for the Roman Church.[2] 'Ye know,' said he, 'you and our dear daughter the Empress Agnes, what I think about the king, and what I wish for him. None more than I desire to see him rich in earthly blessings; but you know, too, how often I have said that my first wish is that none may lead a more holy life than he; for I say in my heart, If morality and pious living in a private person, or let us say a prince, redounds to the honour and glory of the Holy Church, what would not those qualities effect as seen in the life of the man who is the head of the laics, who is now a king, and will be, if God so please, Emperor of Rome?' Gregory added, that in the course of that month the Duke Rudolph would be passing through Lombardy,[3] and

[1] Prudentiam tuam rogamus, ut in fidelitate beati Petri semper studeas crescere, et ad limina ejus, tum causâ orationis, tum consideratione tantæ utilitatis, non pigeat te venire.—*Act. Concil.* p. 1211.

[2] Novistis quidem, si bene fortasse meministis, quam sæpe utrique dixerim, quod eo religione sanctorum nullum vivere vellem; hoc scilicet, mente mecum versans: si cujuspiam privati et alicujus principis boni mores, vita et religio, honori sanctæ ecclesiæ exsistant et augmento; quid illius, qui laïcorum est caput, qui rex est, et Romæ, Deo annuente, futurus imperator? *Greg. Pap. Epist.* xix. p. 1212.

[3] Ducem Rodulphum Longobardiam intraturum in hoc primo Septembre audivimus.—*Ib*

that, by the help of his counsels and those of Raynald, the Empress Agnes and Beatrice, who, he said, had often worked together with him for peace, he hoped he should be able so to regulate matters, that the king should have nothing to fear from him, when he should come to Italy, finding everything quiet.

He also announced to Anselm, nominated to the Bishopric of Lucca,[1] this pacific intervention of Agnes and the illustrious Beatrice and her daughter Matilda, and lastly of Rudolph, Duke of Suabia; but he none the less prescribed to this prelate the refusal of any investiture at the hands of the king until such time as Henry, having made satisfaction to God touching his commerce with excommunicated persons, should have peace with the Church.

To another prelate of Lombardy, Bruno, Bishop of Verona, who asked for the pallium, he wrote in the same spirit of conciliation and peace. In writing him to come according to custom to seek this distinction in person, he adds:[2] 'We desire thus to show in you with what sincere love we cherish the salvation of the king, and how ardently we wish to minister to his glory before God and before men, if he will only set himself to render glory to God, and bidding farewell to the passions of youth, to imitate the conduct of the wise and prudent.'

[1] Personæ namque tales opus conantur perficere; carissima ibique filia nostra Agnes imperatrix, nec non et gloriosa Beatrix cum filiâ Mathildi: Rodolphus quoque dux Suaviæ, quorum religiosa consilia spernere nec possumus, nec debemus.—*Greg. Pap. Epist.* xxi. p. 1212.

[2] Volumus etiam tunc præsentiæ tuæ ostenderre, quam sincero amore salutem diligamus, quantumve circà ejus honorem et secundum Deum et seculum invigilare desideremus, si ipse Deo debitum honorem studuerit exsequi, et formam sanctorum regum, omissis puerilibu studiis, sapienter imitari.—*Greg. Pap. Epist.* xxiv. p. 1216.

We perceive from these various details that Gregory VII. had not at that time any intention of persecuting Henry. He would willingly have treated with the young prince, and he was willing to accept as arbiters an ambitious vassal of the German king and three women, one of whom had been formerly a prisoner in the camp of Henry III., another brought up from her infancy in hatred of the Empire and love of the Church, and the third a fallen Empress who was far more a penitent of Rome than the mother of the Emperor.

But this first attempt at reconciliation was not successful. Notwithstanding the Pope's invitation, Rudolph feeling himself shackled either by the prohibition of Henry or by the fear of exciting his supicions, did not take the proposed journey to Rome, and Gregory VII. continued to forbid all bishops who were nominated to receive investiture from the hands of Henry. The distrust of the pontiff was shown in all things, and extended in a special manner to those who possibly might serve the King of Germany and defend his cause. In the foremost rank stood Gottfried, who had been for many years absent from Italy, being detained in his province of Lorraine, where Matilda had made only a brief sojourn, and whither she would not return.

There Gottfried had come to the inheritance of the Duke, his father, who had been the husband of Beatrice, and this inheritance had already produced quarrels between him and the clergy. The monks of Saint Hubert in Ardennes, on the confines of the Duchy of Burgundy, claimed from the young Duke a rich donation of the lands and goods, the property of Gottfried, his father, which they said he had given to them before

his death, and, in pledge thereof, had placed in the hands of the Abbot an ivory casket containing holy relics.

The new Duke, without altogether disputing this votive offering, had done what he could to lessen it. He had subtracted from the donation several estates, which he gave to some of his father's men-at-arms, and had kept, for himself, half the money and half the furniture. The Abbot of Saint Hubert further complained that Gottfried had taken possession of the ivory casket by force, in order to give it to Matilda, who, though often summoned by him, always put off her journey across the mountains. The Abbot of Saint Hubert had put up with this slight, but as soon as he heard of the elevation of that zealous defender of the Church, the Archdeacon Hildebrand, he thought the moment favourable for claiming what he qualified as the alms of the good Duke Gottfried.

He set out with Herimann, Bishop of Metz, to go to Rome to appeal to the judgment of the Pope. On arriving at Luna, in Tuscany, they were met by a messenger from Beatrice, who invited them, in her name and in that of her daughter Matilda, to halt at Pisa, and there solemnise the feast of Easter in her presence.

The Bishop and the Abbot accepted with joy, as a powerful protection, the hospitality of the mother-in-law and the wife of the prince whom they were about to accuse to the Holy Father. They went without delay to the palace of the princesses, where many bishops and priests and knights were assembled to celebrate the ceremonies of Holy Week.

While the Bishop of Metz, in compliance with the ladies' request, was celebrating High Mass in the Palace Chapel, the good Abbot of Saint Hubert, all dazzled by the pomp of this Italian Court and by the rich dress of the princesses, remained humbly in the crowd, and chanted the responses in a low voice, accompanied by two monks, his chaplains. Matilda, having perceived him, had him brought to her, and forced him to take his proper seat in the choir.

Knowing that the Abbot was to leave the next day, the Countess received him to a private audience and, having listened to all his complaints, she said he must consult the Lord Pope on all those matters, and, in order to secure him ready access, gave him letters of introduction, which she told him to present to the pontiff in her name.

Having arrived at Rome, with the Bishop of Metz, the Abbot of Saint Hubert presented his letters, and was graciously received. He remained in the city seven days, and was often admitted to visit the Pope. On one occasion, when he had remained in conversation with the Pontiff till the evening, at his house at the gates of Rome, Gregory VII. gave orders to the Prefect Armandus to reconduct him, with an escort, to the inn where the two German travellers lodged. That was not all: on the Abbot's departure, the Pope gave him a bull, which placed under the guardianship of the Holy See, and protected under pain of anathema, all the possessions, present or future, of the Convent of Saint Hubert, and all donations that had been or that should be made to it. 'The Abbot,' says the chronicle of the convent, 'had, in a spirit of peace, asked to be relieved

of the obligation of enforcing the conditions of the legacy, disputed by Gottfried; but the Pope would not consent, and handed to the Abbot two briefs, which directed the Bishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Laon to induce Gottfried, either by their advice or the ascendency of the episcopal ministry, to fulfil his father's vow.

Furnished with this bull and these letters, the Abbot returned to Pisa, to inform Matilda of what he had done, and he received from her rich presents for his monastery. As soon as he reached it, he transmitted the pontifical letters to the two Bishops of Cologne and Laon.

In the fear of Rome, and at the prelates' entreaty, Gottfried gave way, ill pleased, no doubt, at Matilda's zeal for the communities that claimed against him; but soon afterwards he set out to join her in Italy, where she was, at the Court of the pontiff whom Gottfried had a few months before congratulated on his exaltation. In replying at that time to the message of Gottfried, and while addressing him by the title of 'Very Dear Son of Saint Peter,' Gregory VII. had, nevertheless, even then touched on the subject of difference between them. 'Regarding the king,' he wrote, 'you shall learn all our thoughts and intentions. In the full extent of the judgment which we have received from God, we believe that no one is more solicitous than ourselves for the present and future glory of Henry; but it is not lawful for us to allow any feeling of personal interest whatsoever to take the place of the law of God, nor to turn aside from the path of justice and of human respect. The Apostle

says :—"If ye shall seek to please men, then are ye not the servants of God."'

It was forestalling the reply to any negotiation Gottfried might essay in Henry's interest, and it does not appear that this last journey of the Duke of Lorraine to Italy served the cause of his sovereign with the Pope any better than it did his own with Matilda.

The Countess, at this time, had quitted the Court at Pisa to go to Rome, where her influence was very great, and even sometimes triumphed over the inflexibility of the apostolic censures. We find an example of it in this first year of Gregory's accession.

Ghébéhard, Bishop of Prague, and own brother of Wratislas, Duke of Bohemia, had long coveted the bishopric of Olmutz, which he wished to unite to his own by the expulsion of its possessor, the Bishop John. Not being able to obtain this from his brother either by prayers or presents, he came one day to Olmutz, as though to pay a visit to the Bishop.[1] But, all of a sudden, he caused him to be seized by his men-at-arms, and attacked him most brutally, tearing even the hair off his head.[2]

The Bishop John would not allow the required renunciation to be extorted from him by this violence, and carried his complaint before the apocrisiary Rudolph, who had been recently sent into Bohemia by Gregory VII., in compliance with the request of Wratislas. Rudolph suspended Ghébéhard from his bishopric, and even from his priestly functions. This just punishment excited troubles in Bohemia, and the legate was forced

[1] Ad urbem Olmutz, tanquam Johannes Episcopum visitaturus venit.—*Ann. Saxo. Ecuard. Corp. Hist.* vol. i. p. 534.

[2] Capillando inhumanis injuriis affecit.—*Ibid.*

partially to raise the interdict;[1] but he then sent the two bishops to appear before the tribunal of Rome, where they arrived, and each presented his memorials to the pontiff.[2]

Nothing could justify the Bishop of Prague; there was in the deed he had done simony, violence, and impiety, all that the Pope punished with the most rigorous anathemas.

Fortunately for this bishop, the Countess Matilda was at this time at Rome, at the court of the pontiff, who, according to the expression of an old chronicler, determined all things human and divine by her advices.[3] Ghébéhard came to swell the train of the Countess, in which were to be found all the nobility of Rome, and put forward a claim of distant relationship by the mother's side with Matilda's family. Having listened to this genealogy, Matilda held the Bishop Ghébéhard thenceforth in honour, and recommended him to the Pope. Had she not been in Rome, Ghébéhard would have lost his title, his riches, and rank, and would even perhaps have been deprived of the priestly offices. But the earnest entreaties of Matilda prevailed.[4] Gregory summarily put an end to the litigation between the two bishops by ordering each to return to his respective diocese, and to live there in peace. There were two circumstances that emboldened the pontiff, and added to his haughty faith in his own power, and these were the prolonged agitations in Germany, and the

[1] Unde jubente Rodolpho Apocrisario, proficiscuntur prædicti episcopi Romam.—*Ann. Saxo. Ecuard. Corp. Hist.* vol. i. p. 515.

[2] Litterarum sacrarum offerunt normam.—*Ibid.*

[3] Hanc omnis ordo senatorius honorabat, et Papa ipse per eam divina et humana negotia disponebat.—*Ibid.*

[4] Quâ interveniente et multis Apostolicum precibus fatigante pax facta est.—*Ibid.*

revolt of a great number of the princes and bishops against the authority of Henry.

The Saxons continued the war, with the assistance of many of the nobles of the kingdom of Germany. The Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Alberstadt had joined their confederation. Gregory would no doubt have encouraged them openly had he had no fears with regard to Italy; but his fruitless negotiation with Robert Guiscard made him hesitate for a time. Returning to Rome after a stay of some months within the territory of Capua, he sent messengers to Henry and to the Saxon confederations exhorting both sides to peace, and offering himself as a mediator.

'Among the cares that vex me,' says he, in a letter to the Archbishop of Magdeburg and his allies, 'my greatest affliction is to learn that there have arisen between you and the King Henry, your seigneur, such dissensions and hatreds, that many murders and burnings and robberies of the churches and the poor have ensued, and that the country is frightfully ravaged. For this reason, we have sent to the king to warn him, as from the Apostles Peter and Paul, that he abstain from arms and all military violence until such time as we send him the legates of the Apostolic See to examine with zeal into the causes of so great division, and by an equitable judgment to establish peace and concord. We pray and warn you likewise, to observe the same truce, and to place no obstacle in the way of our efforts to restore peace.'

The pontiff added that, on his part, falsehood would be sacrilege, and promised the most impartial justice; but, from the very fact that he does not censure the bishops in arms against their sovereign, his inclinations are manifest.

Henry then seemed to be in great danger. The revolt in Saxony had spread into Thuringia. The castles he had built in those provinces were besieged on all sides. The queen herself, who was shut up in one of those places, only obtained leave to come out by the influence of the Abbot of Hirsfeld. Henry, in order to occupy a strong position on the Rhine, had come to the city of Worms, which, being annoyed by its bishop, had recently driven out the soldiers which, in conformity with German custom, the prelate had under his orders.

The king found the inhabitants zealous in his cause, but he did not hold his court with his accustomed splendour, the revenue of the royal lands being intercepted. The bishops and abbots no longer sent him presents, and it was necessary to purchase, day by day, what was required for his use. He had summoned the great vassals, but the greater number of them came without either money or troops.

The Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, the Bishops of Strasburg and Worms, the Dukes of Bavaria, Suabia, and Carinthea declared they could not aid him in an unjust war.

This situation may explain the singular language which Henry then held in his letters to the pontiff of Rome. He accused himself of not having rendered sufficient honour to the clergy.

'Blameworthy and unhappy as we are,' wrote he, 'in part through the errors of youth, and in part through the liberty of absolute power we have enjoyed, in part through the deceptions of those whose counsels we have too blindly followed, we have sinned against heaven and against you, and are no more worthy to be called your

son, for not only have we taken possession of ecclesiastical property, but have sometimes sold the churches themselves to men unworthy and imbued with the leaven of Simony.'

But Henry took care not to ask the arbitration of the Pope in the affairs of Saxony; all he wanted was to prevent a rupture with the pontiff, at a moment when he felt his weakness against his own revolted subjects.

Uneasy in truth as to the fidelity of his great vassals, and seeing his troops disaffected, he resolved, by the advice of his most faithful friends, to treat with the Saxons. Their demands were that the king should re-establish the Duke of Bavaria, and receive into his favour the Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne, and, finally, that he should pledge himself to appoint no foreigners to any diocese of Saxony.

Fifteen bishops and several princes came to the Saxon camp to treat on the part of the King. The confederates added to the conditions, that if the King should ever repent him of the treaty, and refuse to carry out its provisions, they would again take up arms, and, by the judgment of the assembled princes, deprive the King of his crown as being guilty of perjury. The bishops charged to negotiate for Henry subscribed all the conditions, and the princes, well pleased at having turned aside the danger of such a formidable confederation, received the principal Saxon leaders, and gave them the kiss of peace; and in their presence sent orders to the garrisons that still remained in Saxony to abandon the forts they occupied. At this sacrifice he hoped to dissolve the powerful coalition formed against

him, and to elude some of his promises at a later day. And then with a confidence which was worthy of a prince, he dismissed his own troops, loaded the chiefs who had been most faithful to him with presents, and, surrounded by the Saxons, entered the city of Goslar.

Nevertheless the orders he had in appearance given for the abandonment of the royal fortresses were executed but slowly. He was loath above all to give up the Château of Hartzburg, which had been built at such great cost, on an elevation in the very heart of an important tract of country, and which, surrounded as it was by its high walls, had defied all the attempts of the Saxons. The King's officers commanding the garrison of this place, proud of having so long held the surrounding plains in subjection, refused to open their gates, and Henry, well inclined to prolong the delay, proposed to call a diet at Goslar of all the princes of Germany, to discuss some final difficulties.

It did, in fact, meet on the 10th of March 1074, but the Princes of Saxony and Thuringia alone appeared, and the people of those provinces had already taken up arms to force the king to keep his promises. Henry, however, declined to proceed in the absence of the other princes convoked to the diet, and sought by this excuse, and other incidental discussions, to defer still the destruction of the fortress. But the peril was soon increased by the great number of troops that were marching towards Goslar, and the animosity by which they were actuated. The prelates even who had been the King's mediators, the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishop of Osnabruck, and some Saxon nobles attached to

his party, and whose estates had even been confiscated by the rebels, threatened to leave him and join their fellow-citizens.

Henry, fallen again into the pass which he had sought to escape, at last gave way. He again promised to re-establish the Duke of Bavaria, and gave final orders for razing the fortresses still occupied by his troops. He only stipulated the preservation of the palace and the church of Hartzburg, with the monastery adjoining.

The Saxon chroniclers say that he only gave orders to his officers to throw down some of the battlements of the towers; but that those either having asked, or not being able to refuse the help of the peasants in this task, they came in such numbers to witness the fall of the instrument of their servitude, that the castle was so totally destroyed that not one stone was left on another. Fired by revenge and pillage, they did not stop there.[1] They spared nothing within the walls of the fortress, neither the King's palace, nor the church, nor the monastery. They burnt the altar, and broke the bells to pieces; and then they dragged from their tombs the bodies of a brother and of the first-born son of Henry, and scattered their bones.

On hearing this, Henry, who was still in the midst of his enemies, concealed his anger, and accepted the excuses of the Saxon nobles, who threw all the blame of this attack on the blind fury of the peasants. For some days further he continued to issue orders for the destruction of his other fortresses, and at the end of the month of March he hastened to quit Saxony, breathing vengance in his heart, and vowing never to set foot

[1] *Bruno de Bello Saxonico*, p. 111.

there again till he could treat it as he pleased. He went then to Worms and joined the Queen, who, during the troubles of this unfortunate campaign, had given birth in the Abbey of Hersfeld, to a son who was baptized Conrad, and who was afterwards so baleful to his father.

Henry, traversing then the provinces on either bank of the Rhine, flattered himself that he should find the princes of Germany less favourable towards the Saxons, and that they would sympathise with the cruel insult he had received at Hartzburg, for in the midst of the tumultuous anarchy of these times the dignity of the King of Germany had great power over the minds of both princes and people.

At the same time Henry sent a deputation to Rome, commissioned to lay before the pontiff the crime of those who, out of hatred to their king, had violated the tombs of the princes, broken down the altars, and reduced a consecrated church to ashes. But these outrages, which on any other occasion Gregory would have visited with all the anathemas of the Church, were then far from drawing down his anger. It was even said that emissaries, sent from Rome, had fomented the troubles in Saxony; and it is certain, at least, that the authority of the Pope was pleaded by the rebels, and that the priests and nobles, zealous in his cause, had often stirred up the peasants of Saxony, in God's name, to free themselves from a prince who lay under the accusation of licentiousness, sacrilege, and tyranny. At a distance from the spot, and amid these contradictory complaints, Gregory VII. could not show himself very ready to condemn those who appeared to have

taken up arms in the interest of the Church, and it suited him well that the King, whose presence in Italy he dreaded, should be detained on the other side of the Alps by troubles in his own dominions.

At this same time Gregory assembled a council at Rome in which he intended to unfold his plans for the reform of the clergy and the aggrandisement of the Church; two things that in his mind were never separated.

The very letters of convocation to the archbishops of Italy, announced the loftiness and the steadfastness of his projects. He wrote to the Patriarch of Aquilia:—

'The princes and governors of this world, seeking only their own interest, and not that of Jesus Christ, trample under foot all respect, and treat the Church like a vile slave. The priests, and those who are entrusted with the direction of the Church, evade the law of God, and their obligations to Him and to their flocks, seeking in ecclesiastical dignities worldly glory alone, and consuming in vain pomps and useless expenses that which should be devoted to the salvation of the greatest number.

'The people, whom neither the teaching nor the counsel of the prelates leads into the way of justice, but who are rather taught evil things by the example of their leaders, fall into all sorts of crimes, and bear the name of Christians, not only without fulfilling a Christian's duty, but without even keeping the faith. Wherefore, trusting in the mercy of God, we have resolved to assemble a synod in the first week of Lent, in order, by the counsel of our brethren, to find a remedy for so many evils, so that we witness not in our day the irre-

parable ruin and destruction of the Church; and so we pray you, and we also charge you in the name of blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, to come at the time fixed to meet us, convoking by this letter and your own your suffragans; for we shall come to the succour of ecclesiastical liberty and religion with all the more strength and certainty as we shall be the more closely surrounded by your counsels and sage advice, and that of the rest of our brethren.'

The pontiff addressed the same invitation to Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, and secret enemy of the See of Rome. Finally, he summoned to Rome at the same date, those princes of Italy who were most docile towards the Church, Gisulph, Prince of Salerno; Azo, Margrave of Este; the Countess Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda.

On March 13, 1074, the day on which Henry ceded at Goslar to the necessity of accepting the imperious demands of the Saxons, Gregory, in all the splendour of his new dignity, opened the new assembly, which was, according to his words, to re-establish the Christian faith in the liberty of its early days.

The council was numerously attended. There was, however, to be remarked, the absence of the German bishops, a presage of the approaching divisions of the Church and the Empire. Very few of the Lombard bishops were present either. When the Pope entered the assembly, a shout arose from all sides, 'Long live Gregory!' Those present gazed with admiration and envy and fear on the former archdeacon of Rome, who for twenty years had been the soul of so many councils, the guide of so many Popes, come at last to be himself

the keeper of St. Peter's keys. Gregory was then sixty years of age. He had lost none of his youthful ardour; his piercing black eyes appeared as if animated by the fire of inspiration, and his severe looks seemed to penetrate the consciences of men, and to be able to discover what was either faithless or doubtful there. This council, whose acts have not come down to us in precise terms, suspended from the service of the altar all Simonist priests and all who lived with wives or concubines; and charged the people neither to obey their authority or to receive any sacrament at their hands.

In promulgating these decrees, Gregory says in one of his letters to the bishops: 'We desire that those who do not reform out of love to God and respect for the dignity of their office, should be brought to reason by human respect and popular objurgation.' He had himself provoked these objurgations, and, as it were, stirred up the laity to support him in enforcing his rigid interdictions. In such spirit he wrote a letter to the inhabitants of Franconia, calling on them to refuse the ministry of unworthy priests. We know of nothing more remarkable than this letter, or that more clearly indicates the indomitable will of the pontiff.

It has not reached us through the collection, otherwise incomplete, in the pontifical register; and as we read it we conceive that the prudent reserve of the Church did not avow the violent and unaccustomed proceedings which this letter authorised. But the effect it took, the grave witnesses by whom it is cited, the contemporary chronicles which reproduce it, confirm its veracity, and the boldness of its aims are com-

pletely in character with the impetuous spirit of the writer.

'We have learned,' says this letter, addressed to the faithful in the provinces of Germany, 'that many of your bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons have commerce with women, and approve and tolerate this disorder. We command you to obey such in nothing; not to submit yourselves to their orders, until they shall have submitted themselves to the precepts of the See apostolic and the authority of the holy fathers. According to the testimony of holy Scriptures, those who countenance evil are subject to the same punishment as the doers thereof.'

After having said 'that all the faithful should know that Simony and fornication exclude from the service of the altar,' the pontiff added, 'Wherefore we address ourselves to all those in whose faith and devotion we have confidence, charging you and warning you by the authority apostolic, whatever your bishops may say or not say, to refuse the ministry of every one that ye know either to have procured his advancement and his orders by Simony, or to be guilty of the crime of fornication.'[1]

[1] Audivimus quod quidam Episcoporum apud vos commorantium, aut sacerdotes, et diaconi et subdiaconi mulieribus commisceantur aut consentiant aut negligant. His præcipimus vos nullo modo obedire, vel illorum præceptis consentire, sicut ipsi apostolicæ sedis præceptis non obediunt neque auctoritati sanctorum patrum consentiunt. Testante divinâ scripturâ, facientes et consentientes par pœna complectitur. Sciunt namque Archiepiscopi et Episcopi terræ vestræ, quod omnibus fidelibus notum esse debet, quoniam in sacris canonibus prohibitum est ut hi qui per simoniacum hæresim, hoc est, interventu pretii, ad aliquem sacrorum ordinum gradum vel officium promoti sunt, nullum in sanctâ ecclesiâ ulterius ministrandi locum habeant, nec illi, qui in crimine fornicationis jacent, missas celebrare, aut secundum inferiorem ordinem ministrare altari debeant. *Et Infra:* Qua-

In the same council there were suspended from their functions: Liemar, Archbishop of Bremen; Garnier, Bishop of Strasbourg; and Henry, Bishop of Spires, who having long before been summoned to give an account of his indolent and scandalous life, had refused to make his appearance at Rome. The Bishops of Parma and Turin, and Gottfried, Bishop of Milan, were also excommunicated; Denis, Bishop of Placenza, was deposed; but the Pope accorded to Hermann, Bishop of Bamberg, a reprieve, in order that he might vindicate himself.

The great ones of the earth came after the bishops. Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia Calabria and Sicily, who not only had refused obedience to the Pope, but was at that very moment besieging Benevento, the patrimony of the Church, had the anathema and all its consequences pronounced upon him. The Pope and council only threatened Philip I., of France, with excommunication if he did not clear himself before the apostolic nuncios.

In this same council Gregory received a message which accorded well with his secret hatred of Henry. Solomon, King of Hungary, and an ally of Henry's, whose sister Judith he had married, had just been driven from his throne by a seigneur named Géza, a relative of his own, and who lost no time in writing to the Pope to confirm his usurpation.

Gregory read his letters to the assembly, and, remarking only the protestations of obedience they contained, he replied in the name of the council felicitating the

propter ad omnes de quorum fide et devotione confidimus nunc convertimur, rogantes vos et apostolicâ auctoritate admonentes ut quidquid Episcopi dehinc loquantur aut taceant, vos officiorum eorum quos aut simoniacè promotos, et ordinatos aut in crimine fornicationis jacentes cognoveritis, nullatenus recipiatis.—*Baluze, Miscellanea*, vol. vii. p. 125.

usurper, in that his heart and mind were inflamed by a holy ardour that claimed the veneration of the Holy See. 'We would have thee,' said he, 'in no sense doubt our affection; and, in the effusion of our paternal sentiments towards thee, we assure thee that thou mayest ask and obtain from us without any hesitation all things that may tend to thy salvation and thy glory; and if any one of thy enemies shall wickedly endeavour to injure thee, not only shall he be excluded from audience with us, but he shall learn that our indignation is moved against him.'

Gregory, at the same time, specified the Marquis Azo, of Este, a prince of Italy, as the mediator through whom Géza should transmit to the Holy See his requests and his homage and obedience. 'Finally,' said he, at the conclusion of his letter, 'may the Divine mercy protect thee from all the adversities of this world, and bestow on thee strength invincible to work its will.' Nevertheless the pontiff, as yet, gave Géza the name of Duke of Hungary only, holding back the title of king, less out of consideration for Henry than by an ancient claim of the Roman Church to the sovereignty of Hungary. The Pope closed the council by pronouncing excommunication against five seigneurs of the German court, who were known to have sold ecclesiastical dignities.

Gregory then immediately despatched a solemn legation to bear his decrees to Henry. Being anxious, with all his boldness, to secure a powerful mediatrix, he persuaded the Empress Agnes to undertake this journey, in company of her Confessor Raynald, Bishop of Como, and the apostolic legates, the Bishops of Ostia

and Palestrina. Henry came to Nüremburg to meet his mother, whom he had not seen for ten years.

When the legates arrived in Germany, they learned many details concerning the late events of the war with Saxony, and of the humiliations to which Henry had been exposed, and thereupon assumed more haughtiness in their language, and themselves increased the severity of their mission. They affected at first to refuse any conference with the king till he should have obtained absolution from the censures he had incurred by his commerce with men who were under the anathema; and at the same time they asked in the Pope's name the faculty of holding a council; such a meeting seemed difficult. The rigorous decrees of which they were the bearers, had spread terror amongst the German clergy, so lax in their discipline and morals. A few bishops only, and principally those who had taken part in the troubles on account of Saxony, showed great zeal in receiving the legates, and assembled at their command in a national council.

Prominent among the rest was the Bishop of Alberstadt, the most ardent of the promoters of the late revolt against the arbitrary power of Henry. He was indignant not only at the repugnance of the king's officers, but also at the delay of the bishop to form a synod under the presidency of the legates, and complained that the apostolic envoys had not been received with honour due.

Gregory wrote to him to thank him for his pious attachment, to keep up his courage, and to entreat him to nourish that holy flame in his breast. 'If,' said he, 'we would, by our silence, allow the princes and the

mighty ones of your country to rule according to their will, and to trample under foot the law of God, *certes*, we should have plenty of friends, and therewith homage and presents ; but that suits not with the place we fill, nor with our duty ; there is nothing that can separate us from Christ, and it is better to die than to abandon His service, or to spare the impious because they are powerful.' At the same time he exhorts the bishop to put his trust in the protection of Saint Peter.[1]

In spite of the Pope's exhortations, the holding of a council in so many opposing circumstances was not possible, and the annoyance Gregory VII. experienced at this delay appears in his correspondence at this date, particularly in the reproaches he addresses to Liemar, Archbishop of Bremen, one of the prelates who was the most constantly at Henry's Court.

He summoned him, in fact, to repair to Rome for the next council, since he had not chosen to acknowledge, and had interfered in Germany with the exercise of the jurisdiction of Saint Peter, as represented by the legates the bishops of Palestrina and Ostia ; and meantime, he suspended him from his episcopal functions.

In truth, however, the king himself had not been opposed to the meeting of this council under his own eyes, and presided over by foreign prelates ; he had hoped, doubtless, to obtain in it his own wishes on some points, and perhaps to avenge himself, through the legates, on some of the bishops from whom he had received such grave offence during the late troubles.

But all these German bishops, even those who had shown themselves the most zealous supporters of the

[1] The 7th of the Calends of November, 1074.

Pope's authority at a distance, men accustomed to the rude but free life of the seigneurs of the North, revolted at the idea of a judgment on matters of discipline to be given by the legates, and declared they could not, and would not, answer questions as to their faith and morals to any but the pontiff in person.

The legates, on this, no longer insisted on the immediate convocation of new councils; but announced that they had brought with them the decrees of the last council of Rome, and should without delay and without exception apply their provisions to all priests that were either Simonists, or married, or living in concubinage.

This announcement excited a general rising throughout Germany. The priests of this country, among whom celibacy was rare and most unacceptable, would listen to none of these reforms. They said that the bishops and abbots possessed great riches, sat at banquets fit for kings, and enjoyed the pleasures of the chase, and that they could well leave to them, who were but poor priests, the consolation of having a wife; that continence was too difficult and too trying a virtue; that it was not formerly exacted of mere priests, and that if it had been they must have had angels for priests.

These murmurs were so violent, that the most steadfast friends of the pontifical authority could make no effort to stem them.

Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, who even before the elevation of Gregory VII. was his devoted admirer, made an attempt to notify to his clergy the decrees of the council of Rome, and the letters in which the Pope commanded him, under pain of excommunication, to see them executed. When he appeared, accompanied by the

legate who was the bearer of these letters to the council of the province, all the clerics there present arose in such tumult and with such shouts and menaces, that the archbishop thought for some moments he should never get out alive, and in order to appease their fury it was necessary to postpone any step for the execution of the pontifical mandate. Gregory's legate withdrew, convinced that it would be impossible as yet to overthrow a custom so ancient and so deeply rooted, and for which many of the German clerics cared more than for life itself.

In other parts of Christendom these attempts at ecclesiastical reform met with no better success. The Lombard clergy in particular were highly exasperated. Other disorders followed. In forbidding the laity to hold communion with married priests, and to receive the sacraments at their hands, Gregory had not only departed from the ancient practice of the Church, but he had laid open to reproach a multitude of priests who had till then been so greatly respected. In former times there was the anathema upon any secular who should accuse a cleric, and now all the people were instigated, so to say, to judge the priesthood. And so, in many parts of France, Germany, and Lombardy, great disorder ensued under the pretext that the priests lived in the scandalous union forbidden by the Pope, or that they only renounced it in appearance. The laity dispensed with the priests' ministration, and baptized their children themselves. The dying refused to receive the Holy Viaticum from the hands of a married priest, and many threw the tenth reserved for that priest into the fire, as though the fruits of the earth had been

plague-stricken. Sometimes, even in the very churches, men in their fury threw down and trod under foot the host that had been consecrated by hands they called impure. And thus, contrary to the intention of the pious pontiff, licence and impiety were the fruits of the too imperious and too sudden reform attempted by his austere spirit, and popular passion, imprudently let loose, gave a foretaste of what liberty of opinion was to work some centuries later.

These partial disorders, however, not being at that time kept up by a sectarian spirit, or a civil war, diminished under the influence of some pious bishops in France and in Germany. The inferior clergy having become more cautious, and being more closely watched, regained the esteem of the people. The reform ordered by the pontiff, though it never was complete, gained credit more and more, and though Gregory VII. did not attain all that his violent ardour for reform and justice desired, he did gain by this legation a part of the advantages he had hoped for.

The Empress Agnes, formerly so powerful in Germany, and now become completely Roman, resumed much of her influence over the court, and the mind of her son. The five seigneurs who had been excommunicated in the last council were excluded from the king's counsels. Henry seems from this time to have submitted to some penances imposed by the legates, and he had also renewed his promise no more to sell ecclesiastical dignities.

On the 17th of July of this year, Gregory addressed to the Empress Agnes a letter whose mystical joy leaves no doubt on this subject.

Agnes remained at her son's court till nearly the end of the year, and returned to Rome with the legates, loaded with rich presents.

Meantime, Gregory VII., assured of more docile dispositions on the part of Henry, doubtless, also, of the prince's embarrassments at home, and finding under his hand Robert Guiscard, intimidated by the anathemas which his newly-acquired power had cause to dread, determined to extend further his projects of moral reform and domination. Sometimes from Rome, sometimes from Tibur, where he passed the autumn of 1074, he wrote orders and remonstrances to all parts of Christendom ; he summoned to Rome those bishops of whom he received complaints, he encouraged by his praises the prelates of Germany who had been most opposed to Henry in the war with Saxony. He stimulated by his letters the payment of Peter's Pence, and made arrangements to protect the pilgrims who came in great numbers to Rome with their offerings.

This source of revenue, one of the most important to the court of Rome, was often obstructed by the disorders and violence of these times; often, too, the merchants of Italy, more industrious and more wealthy than the Frank peoples, were exposed to extortion and robbery on their journeys. It frequently happened, also, that ecclesiastics or pilgrims returning from Rome were made prisoners and put to ransom by some seigneur castellan.

Gregory VII. had addressed many complaints on this subject to Philip, King of France, who, young and not very stably seated on his throne, made no effort to repress the abuses, from which he often derived profit.

It was in face of this confusion, this contempt of all rights, public and private, that Gregory VII. uttered as pontiff the language for which he has been so often censured, but which is explained by the poverty and anarchy of the sovereignties of that age.

The pontiff addressed, then, to all the bishops of France a threatening letter, in which, having drawn the picture of all the disorders in the kingdom, he charges them on Philip I. 'Your king,' he says, 'if I must call him so, is no king; no, not a king, but a tyrant, is, by the instigation of the devil, the cause of all these evils. His life is stained with crime and infamy, and poor and wretched as he is, bearing the sceptre in vain, not only has he by the feebleness of his government given his people licence to commit all kinds of evils, but he has encouraged by the example he has set, both in his inclinations and his deeds. He has not been satisfied with deserving the anger of God by the destruction of churches, by adulteries, by robberies, and many other kinds of wrong, on account of which we have often reprimanded him; quite lately he took from some dealers who had gone from all parts of the earth to a fair in France, a large sum of money, like a brigand. He who ought to be the defender of the laws and of justice has been the privileged thief.

'As it is impossible these things should escape the sentence of the Supreme Judge, we entreat you and warn you, out of true charity, to look well to yourselves, so that you draw not down the prophetic malediction: "Cursed be the man that turneth away his sword from shedding blood;" which is to say, as you well know, who does not employ the sword of the Word for

the correction of carnal-minded men; for you are in fault, my brethren, seeing that, not having opposed his wickedness with all the energy of the priesthood, you have countenanced his sins by your complaisance. It is useless to plead fear. United and in arms for the defence of justice, your strength would be such that without any danger to yourselves, you would be able to turn his soul to repentance, and save your own souls. And even if there were fear and peril, you ought not to fail in the exercise of your priestly authority. We pray and urge you, then, to join together in the interest of your country, your honour and your salvation, by deliberating and acting in concert. Speak you to the king: tell him how disgraceful his conduct is, tell him of his own peril, and of that of his kingdom; put clearly before him the criminality of his intentions and his actions; try to prevail over him by all kinds of entreaty, so that he indemnify the dealers of whom I have spoken.

'Moreover, tell him to amend his ways, and, leaving behind him the errors of his youth, let him endeavour, by following righteousness, to raise up the dignity and glory of his kingdom. And in order that he may correct others, let him be the first to abandon iniquity. But if he shall refuse to hear you, and if, braving the wrath of God, he shall persevere in hardness of heart, to the disgrace of the royal dignity, and at the risk of his own and his people's salvation, give him to understand, as from our mouth, that he can no longer escape the sword of the vengeance apostolic. And you, yourselves, being thus warned and commanded by the apostolic power, imitate your holy mother the Church

with the obedience and faith you owe to her; and, withdrawing yourselves altogether from communion with, and obedience to, this man, forbid the public celebration of the divine office throughout France.'

At the same time, in order to render this letter more efficacious, Gregory, faithful to his policy of exciting the great vassals against the princes, wrote to William, Duke of Aquitaine, and reciting afresh all the crimes in which Philip had, he said, exceeded all the pagan kings, he prayed William to choose some men among the noblest and best in France, and to go with them and remonstrate with the king on his iniquities. If the king should listen to their counsels, he promises to treat him with charity. 'But,' he adds, 'if he is obstinate in his perversity, and by his hardness of heart, lays up for himself the anger of God, and Saint Peter, we, by God's help, will punish this man's wickedness, by cutting off from the communion of the Church both him and whosoever shall render him honour and obedience; and his excommunication shall be renewed day by day on the altar of Saint Peter; for we have borne with his iniquities long; too long, indeed, out of pity for his faith, have we feigned not to notice the insults he has inflicted on the Church.'

This violent proceeding on the pontiff's part was not followed by any striking event. The Bishop of Rheims, who was a relative of the king, and who owed his elevation to his favour, was in no haste to carry out the threats of Gregory, and, as we shall see, he suffered for his tardiness at a future day.

Nevertheless, Philip, dreading the trouble the pontiff might raise up for him, sent the Bishop of Loudun, and

many nobles of the kingdom, on an embassy to Rome,[1] and no doubt rendered satisfaction to the pontiff, who was soon engrossed by other cares.

In fact, at the time Gregory VII. was thus lording it over the kings of France and Germany, he was ardently pursuing other projects for the aggrandisement of the Church; it was he who originated the first idea of those crusades that swept all the West towards Asia, and were, at once, the most heroic achievements and the most important revolution of the Middle Ages. However imprudent these expeditions may have appeared in the estimation of the last century, they were really inspired by the sufferings and dangers of the people, as much and more than by the blind ardour of faith; and looking on them in this light, we cannot be surprised that a bold and enterprising spirit like Gregory's, whose one dominant idea was to raise the pontifical power above all others, should have been the first to conceive the plan of a great Christian confederation which should protect European Christendom against the rising flood of Mahometan invasion, and that should march to the deliverance of the holy places under the banner of the Cross.

In truth, if anything could realise, at least for a time, this ambition of Catholic Supremacy, it was such a war, proclaimed, and blessed, and led, by the Pontiff of Rome. Gregory VII. endeavoured to engage in this enterprise some princes of secondary rank, William Duke of Aquitaine, Raymond Count of Saint-Gilles, who after-

[1] Philippus rex Francorum comitem Hilduenum cum domino Hetinando Laudunensi Episcopo aliisque nonnullis principibus, pro communi negotio regni Romam transmittit ad dominum papam.—*Dombourg*, vol. xii. p. 268.

wards became one of the heroes of the first crusade, Amadeus, son of Adelaide of Suza, and Gottfried Duke of Lorraine, the husband of Matilda.

It is indeed true that in summoning them around him he also sought to secure aid against the Normans, though he appears to have believed himself safe from their attacks with the forces of the Roman State alone. 'The soldiers,' wrote he, 'that we have are more than sufficient against the Normans who are rebellious.' But this confidence, founded on some passing divisions among the foreign chiefs, and the more marked deference the pope had received from Robert Guiscard, might be shattered at any moment, and leave the Papal See very feeble in the centre of Italy. We must, then, the more admire the magnanimity of the pontiff, who, in the midst of such uncertainty and so many dangers, projected a sea-voyage, and, in the first place, to reunite Constantinople and Rome. But one man alone, among all the new princes of Italy, as the event proved, was capable of rising to the height of such a design. The other chiefs whom the pope had first called upon, either too destitute of money and men, or too feebly seconded by the spirit of the people not as yet heated by the enthusiasm of the crusade, either did not answer the pious appeal of the pontiff, or sent him but very slender succour, limited to Italy.

The pope, nevertheless, thought he might safely reckon on the assistance of Gottfried; he had even obtained a promise in a conference with this prince, and had in return held out a hope of the investiture of Sardinia.

But Gottfried's main possessions were in Lorraine; he exercised but a precarious authority in Tuscany, where

Beatrice and Matilda, sovereigns in their own right, were obedient to every wish of the pontiff.

Domestic differences had their share in these causes of discontent. Gottfried, pressed by the entreaties of Henry IV., desired to return to his Duchy of Lorraine, taking his wife with him; but Matilda, accustomed to the climate, and to the cities of Italy, in which she and her mother exercised sovereign jurisdiction, refused to follow Gottfried across the Alps. Enraged against him, to whose counsel Gottfried attributed this refusal, he did not send to the pontiff the succour he had promised, and of this Gregory complained in an imperious letter. 'Where are,' he asked, 'the soldiers thou didst promise to bring for the defence of Saint Peter? Since thou hast not fulfilled that which thou didst so promise to blessed Peter, whose vicar, though unworthy, we are, we keep no engagement with thee, unless it be to watch over thy salvation as a Christian (April 1074).'[1] This haughtiness only attached Gottfried more closely to the king's cause. He left Italy for Germany in the month of April, 1074, and remained from that time separated from Matilda, who devoted herself wholly to the Roman Church.

The affection of the pontiff for that princess, then twenty-eight years of age, seemed suspicious even to the credulous devotees of the time; the political animosity of the partisans of Henry IV., which accused the pontiff of all sorts of crimes, did not spare his morals, and could not pardon Matilda for an attachment that was so disastrous to Henry. Many reports on this subject were in circulation both in Germany and Lom-

[1] *Gregorii Papæ VII. Epist.* xxii. lib. 1.

bardy, and even the ecclesiastical chroniclers have repeated them with pious indignation. There is no denying that from this time Gregory used the influence he had obtained over Matilda's mind to separate her from her husband, whom he considered too faithful to Henry's interests.

The continuation of this history will show what sort of passion it was which Matilda felt for the pontiff; but we must bear in mind that, for an Italian princess who was a feudatory of the kingdom of Germany, there was a mainspring of independence and ambition in holding with the Holy See against the empire.

Matilda was young and beautiful, and despised her husband Gottfried, who was a poor hunchback.[1] Proud, too, and vindictive as she was, she could not forgive him for being servilely devoted to those kings of Germany whose persecution of her mother Beatrice she had seen in her childhood. The notions of religious perfection and of celibacy in the marriage state, which were then very common, furnished her with an acceptable means of escaping from the society of a husband whom she loved not. She was the penitent, the admirer, and the friend of the pontiff. But, after ambition, piety only appears to have been the link that formed this union.

The language of Gregory VII. to Matilda at the time she left her husband is that of rigid devotion. 'God only,' says he, 'who sounds the secrets of all hearts, and who knows mine better than I do myself, knows how great is my continual solicitude for your salvation.'

And, then calling her his daughter and the very dear child of Saint Peter, he exhorts her to frequent com-

[1] Staturæ pusillitate atque gibbo despicabilis.—*Lamb. Schaff.*

munion. In it, he says, she will find the treasure that her soul asks for, and tells her that he gives her into the keeping of the mother of God, the model and guardian of all purity.

It would appear that Matilda, like her mother, carried her fervour so far as to wish to embrace the religious life; but the pontiff, who constantly availed himself of their zeal and influence in the affairs of the world, dissuaded them from this vocation. He wrote a letter on this subject, addressed to both of them, containing the same expressions of tenderness and piety; and felicitates them in that, instead of banishing God from their palace, as so many princes did, they invited Him thither by the odour of holiness. Calling them both his dear children, he exhorts them to go on in the path of perfection. 'If I have written to you briefly,' says he, in conclusion, 'you whom I so sincerely love, it is a proof that I am burdened with many cares, for I will not employ in my communication with you on such subjects an intermediary under my dictation. I labour, then, to write to you though with an unpractised hand; for, if you love me as I love you, I am free to believe you know none whom you prefer before me. May Almighty God, by the merits of our Lady and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, absolve you from all your sins, and bring you with joy into the assembly of the Church Universal.'[1] [Given at Rome the 4th of the nones of March 12 indictum 1074.]

[1] Quod vobis, quas sincero corde diligo, parum scribo, gravi curâ me implicitum esse manifesto. Vobis enim in talibus non aliquem vicarium in dictando acquiro sed me ipsum labori, licet rusticano stylo, suppono: quia si diligor, ut diligo, nullum mortalium mihi proponi a vobis cognosco. Omnipotens Deus, meritis supremæ dominæ, per auctoritatem beati Petri

In the autumn of this year, Gregory VII., overwhelmed with much care and labour, fell dangerously ill, and his life was despaired of.

As soon as he recovered, he appeared in public, and resumed with ardour all the occupations of his mystic and toilsome life. The writings of a monk of his time give us an idea of the pious scruples and delicate remorse of conscience which added to Gregory VII.'s burden as governor of the Church. During his sickness, he was visited by a young niece of his. Seeing that she looked sad,[1] and to dissipate her grief, says the pious chronicler, he touched her necklace, asking her if she should like to be married. No doubt the young girl blushed. Soon after the Pope, convalescent, returned thanks to God for his recovery, and was surprised to find himself without cold and tearless,[2] and to feel in his heart a spiritual dryness, which he could not overcome either by the memory of past sufferings or the hope of good things to come. He sought long within himself to discover what he could have done to offend God so to have lost the grace of compunction. At last he resolved to call together some pious men to pray and fast together until God should reveal to him why this gift had been taken away.[3] After a fortnight of watching, and fasting, and prayer, Gregory received the first intimation. The mother of God appeared in

et Pauli a cunctis vos peccatis absolvat, et ad gremium universalis matris vestræ cum gaudio perducat.— *Gregorii Papæ VII. Epist.* l. lib. 1.

[1] Ut nepti super ægritudine suâ animum levigaret, monilia ejusdam manu tenens, an nubere vellet requisivit.—*Acta Sanctorum*, vol. vi. p. 118.

[2] Recepta sanitate . . . . nullo modo ad hoc, ut saltem unam lacrymulam exprimere valeret, pertingere potuit.—*Ibid.*

[3] Quâ denique culpâ datam sibi compunctionis gratiam perdidisset.—*Ibid.*

a dream to a poor simple man, says the chronicler,[1] and said to him, 'Go and tell Gregory that, being admitted by me into the class of virgins, he has done what he ought not to have done.'. Gregory, trembling at this reproach, could not yet understand where he had been in fault, and redoubled his prayers that God would mercifully give him some further explanation. The same vision appeared a second time to the same man, and said, 'Thou shalt speak to Gregory thus: That, as setting at naught our holy rules, he has put his hand on his niece's necklace, he has on that account lost the gift he had before; but now that he has repented of his fault, he shall recover the gift of tears.'[2]

Is this legend, which will make the reader smile, a reply to some calumny, or some poor disguisement of a weakness? or is it not rather a true picture of the manners of the time, and of the sincere faith of the pontiff? We must add, that the contemporary detractors who so fiercely condemned his intimacy with Matilda have never told us who this niece was, nor made the slightest suspicious allusion to any other woman.

The first care of Gregory VII., after his recovery, was to write to Beatrice and Matilda. His letter bears traces of the sadness by which his powerful mind was

[1] Cuidam innocenti et simplici viro Beata Dei Genitrix in visione apparuit . . . . Vade, et dic Gregorio quia cum ego illum in chorum (non dubium quin virginum) elegerim, ipse e contrario aliter quam deberet, egit.—*Acta Sanctorum, Maii*, vol. vi. p. 118.

[2] Quoniam ipse contra gravitatem institutionis nostræ monilia tractavit neptis suæ, idcirco gratiam quam habuit amisit. Sed nunc, quia pœnitentiam de peccato suo pegerit, donum lacrymarum recipiet.—*Ibid.*

sometimes oppressed, and of the confidence he placed in his two faithful allies, even when he thought them subject to influences contrary to the execution of his designs; but it more especially expresses that austere affection in which policy and religion mingled, and which cherished in Beatrice and Matilda two enemies of Henry.

'Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the Duchess Beatrice and her daughter Matilda, health and benediction apostolic.

'We are not ignorant that you have heard divers reports in regard to us: such are the occupations of those who are enemies of concord and union between friends. And we ourselves, if we would have listened to similar rumours, should believe there were very few hearts capable of sincere affection.[1] But, shunning suspicion above all things, we tell you, of a truth, that there is no earthly prince in whom we feel more steadfast confidence than in yourselves. This conviction is the result of your words and actions, your zeal and affection, and your constant faith. We doubt not that your charity will shine forth towards us, because it is St. Peter who is loved in his servant.[2] Know ye, too, that we have just escaped from bodily sickness, contrary to the expectations of all those around us, and that we have recovered our health, which seems to us

[1] Sed nos nihil potius quam suspectum animum fugientes.—*Acta Concil. Greg: Epist.* ix. lib. 11.

[2] De cetero scitote, nos, præter spem omnium qui nobiscum erant, infirmitatem corporis evasisse, et jam bonam valetudinem recepisse . . . . Tendebat enim anima nostra, et toto desiderio ad illam patriam anhelabat . . . . Verum reservati adhuc ad consuetos labores, et infinitas sollicitudines in singulas horas, quasi parturientis labores et angustias patimur.—*Ibid.*

matter for sorrow rather than joy, for our soul aspired with all its strength for that land where He who knows our toils and our sorrows gives peace and rest to the weary. And now, being restored to the fulfilment of our accustomed task, with its endless solicitude, we suffer daily the pangs of a woman in travail, not being able by any effort of ours to save the Church, which is almost shipwrecked in our sight; for the laws and religion of Christ are everywhere so neglected that the Saracens and other pagans keep more faithfully to their religion than those who bear the name of Christians, and who have the promise of the heavenly kingdom. For this cause it seems to us you cannot be surprised that we should desire to escape the calamities of the office we fill, knowing all the evils that threaten us, and feeling the effects of every one of them.'

Though thus weighed down by sadness, the pontiff, still keeping in view the things of this world, treats in this letter of Robert Guiscard, of a trial at Rome, set on foot on account of the unlawful marriage of the Margrave Azo, of the bishops who were summoned to give evidence on the subject, and of a safe conduct to be given to that seigneur to secure his journey through the dominions of Beatrice. 'Know,' said he, 'that Robert Guiscard has often sent unto us urgent entreaties, and that he is ready to place in our hands such pledges of fidelity as that none could or should bind himself by firmer engagements to his seigneur, be he whom he may. But we, having serious reasons for deferring, await the counsels of the wisdom above, and the guidance of the Apostle. We have learned that one of you is about to cross the Alps, and we greatly desire, if it be possible,

to enjoy an interview with you before your journey, because we would in our embarrassments and business take counsel of you, as of our sisters and daughters in Saint Peter. Be assured that all that we know, and that all by God's help we do, is told to you in all frankness and affection; that your name is in our daily prayers; and that, sinner as we are, we heartily commend you to God.'[1]

The pontiff then resumed his bold designs—the reform of the Church, the union of Italy, the humiliation of Germany, the religious submission of France and the other kingdoms of Europe, and a crusade to the East.

The Empress Agnes, on her return, had brought him the assurance of Henry's submission; and the troubles of this prince in the direction of Saxony seemed to guarantee the sincerity of his promise. Gregory then possibly hoped to find in him an instrument for the accomplishment of his projects. He wrote to Henry these words, in which breathes at the same time all the pride and all the humility of the priest:

'Sinner that I am, I have prayed for thy intention in the solemnity of the mass, and will do so again over the bodies of the Apostles.'

At the same time he announced to him by another letter, which was published throughout Europe, his project of succouring the Christians of the East:

'I let your *Grandeur* know,' said he, 'that the

[1] Supernæ dispensationis et apostolicæ præstolamur. Ad hæc alteram vestrum hoc in tempore transalpinaturam intelleximus; sed prius, si fieri posset, ambarum colloquio uti multum desideramus: quoniam vestra consilia, sicut sororum nostrarum, et filiarum sancti Petri, in causis et negotiis nostris habere desideramus.—*Acta Concil. Greg. Epist.* ix. lib. 11.

Christians beyond the sea, of whom numbers are daily killed like mere cattle, have humbly sent unto me to help these our brothers, if I could, so that the Christian religion be not in our day (which God forbid) quite destroyed. And I was so touched by such lively sorrow as to desire death, for I would rather give my life for them than to abandon them, and command the whole world according to the dictates of worldly pride. I have been careful to stir up and to animate all Christians to defend the dominion of Christ, and to sacrifice their lives for their brethren, and so show forth the nobility of the love of God. The Italians and the Ultramontanes,[1] I believe, and I even affirm, have, by the inspiration of God, willingly received my counsels; and already fifty thousand men are preparing, if they can have me as their chief and pontiff in this expedition, to rise in arms against the enemies of God, and intend, under my guidance, to reach the tomb of the Lord.'

The Pope then says that if God should allow him to lead in person this enterprise, which requires a great chief, he commends the Roman Church to the care of Henry.

Very soon afterwards he caused to be published an exhortation to the faithful to arm for this holy war, and to gain by a transient effort eternal felicity. These were the thoughts, this the enthusiasm, which twenty years later aroused all Europe. But these religious passions had need to work on the minds of men before they burst out in that tempest; and the bold pontiff, who had been the first so powerfully to excite them, was about to be himself absorbed in other cares and other perils. We may even doubt whether he was

[1] Those dwelling beyond the Alps.—*Translator.*

sincere in his confidence in Henry, and whether he would have quitted Italy to cross the sea. It is more likely that, by the announcement of such a project, the pontiff hoped to startle Henry, and to inspire him with a dread of that great confederation that he was preparing, and so force him perhaps to come to Rome to solicit the title of Emperor.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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